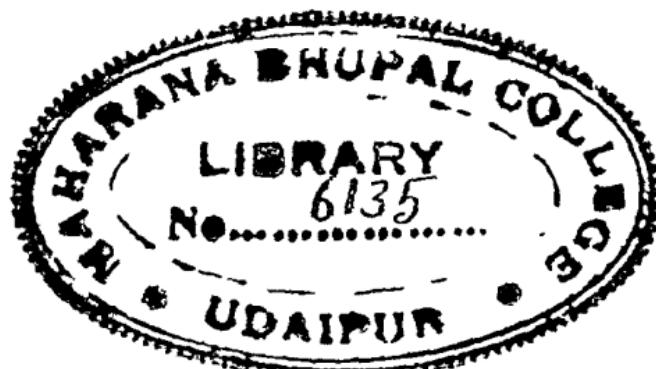


# EDUCATION IN THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

BY

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THE COLONIES



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## PREFACE

IT has been my good fortune in recent years to attend two conferences in which the educational problems of a rapidly contracting world were discussed by representatives of diverse races and experience. We examined the responsibility of the western races for the welfare and advancement of the primitive peoples of Africa and the Pacific with whom they have been brought into contact, and the relations of western forms of culture to the more ancient cultural patterns of the East. We were lucky enough to have with us representatives of oriental as well as of primitive races, who were enabled by their assimilation of western culture to appreciate its possible contribution to their home-life, and by their understanding of their home conditions to see where we have failed to mend them and the conditions of success. They helped us to see more clearly the difficulties as well as the opportunities of our work, the weakness as well as the strength of what is called western civilisation, what we can learn from the East and Africa as well as what we can give them.

At the close of each conference I tried to summarise for my own guidance the fundamental principles that seemed to have emerged. My conclusions at the end of the first conference at Yale University differed from those which I had expressed ten years earlier, when I considered the relations of East and West in an account of our educational work in India. Honolulu modified

the opinions I had formed at Yale two years before. But I was able to trace what seemed to be a continuous line of thought. My theorising seemed to interest those on whom I imposed it, particularly those who dissented most vigorously from my views. This is my excuse for giving these views in the first part of this book. If there is anything original in my conclusions, which I do not claim for them, my primary purpose is not to gain assent. My aim has been to challenge rather than influence thought on these subjects, by emphasising questions that have to be answered by those responsible for the education of other races. Those who study problems of racial contact—and few thinking persons in our Empire can set them aside—are driven, if they are honest, to a consideration of their own attitude—political, economic, ethical, and religious—to life. Such consideration is particularly important for those who contemplate or who are being prepared for educational work overseas. Those now engaged in such work may not resent aids to reflection on first principles and ultimate aims.

Members of these conferences also undertook the task, healthy and chastening, of exposing the contribution made by their respective nations or races to the solution of inter-racial problems. It was their right, of which no member took unfair or unseemly advantage, to examine each national contribution, as it was laid on the table, in the light of such principles as they thought important. Attending the conferences in my personal capacity and not as a representative of the

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Colonial Office, I gave an account of educational aims and methods in the Colonial Empire based on my own experience, but supported where possible by official documents at the disposal of those who might wish to question or verify. Much depends, of course, on the mode of presentation. It was not my business to award praise or blame. But my wish to facilitate discussion by a clear picture with definite outlines may have resulted in a more precise statement of policy than would have appeared in an officially approved version, or than could be supported by official chapter and verse. Some with more experience than I have may think that I could have given a more favourable account of our aims and methods. More are likely to accuse me of using rose-coloured spectacles. With all its faults I present the account, based largely on what I gave the two conferences, for examination in the light, or obscurity, of the principles suggested in the preceding chapters. Like the statement in those chapters, its main purpose is to provoke inquiry. If it tempts those who are being prepared for educational work in the Colonial Empire, or those who are responsible for their training, to find out where I have said too much or too little, it will have done its work.

We tried also at the conferences to correct the vagueness, to which debaters of first principles and general policy are prone, by examination of educational aims and achievements within selected tropical regions. In the course of this examination I tried to explain the lines on which we are working in the tropical African

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dependencies, in one group of eastern dependencies, and in the West Indies. At Honolulu I listened with profit to accounts of our work in the Pacific area given by officers of the colonial education service. It has seemed worth while to include in a third part of this book sketches of the work in these areas, based on what I presented to the conferences or heard there, in order to encourage examination, with reference to regional conditions, of the principles and policy indicated in the first two parts of this book, and to suggest a line of approach to what may be called regional problems. Here again the survey is neither final nor in any sense of the word official. It is meant as an introduction to a comprehensive survey of colonial education which, it is hoped, the recently established colonial department of the University of London Institute of Education may find possible. Probably much of what is said in this book will need revision and correction in such a survey. Certainly much amplification will be required. For a really comprehensive and scientific survey statistics, which are at present unobtainable, will be necessary. It is to be hoped that statistical investigation of the financial aspect of education policy, which is only now beginning, will enable future students of colonial education to supply the very serious gaps in this preliminary survey.

The regions included in the third part of this book may be said to include one specimen of each of the tropical regions in our Colonial Empire. There are, of course, to be found within each dependency those who

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stoutly maintain that the dependency in which they work is wholly different from any other. But those who aim at books of a reasonable length have to disregard such assertions. I have left out of account dependencies in the Mediterranean area and such outlying dependencies as the Falkland Islands, because their problems are so distinct from the problems of tropical dependencies as to deserve wholly separate treatment. The West Indies are included, though essentially their conditions are as remote from those of Africa or the Pacific as they are from those of the Far East, because they exemplify none the less some important problems common to all tropical areas, and also local conditions of extreme interest and importance.

Though I have visited only a few of the dependencies discussed in the final chapters of this book, I can claim personal experience, gained from long periods of work or from visits, of educational work in each of the regions which they represent.

I am indebted to Lord Olivier and the Hogarth Press for permission to include passages from *White Capital and Coloured Labour*.

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PART I  
FUNDAMENTALS

## I

## AN EXAMINATION OF FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS<sup>1</sup>

IT is not easy to discover principles of education common to all our tropical dependencies. The problems seem so different. In the East it is the introduction of young or potential nations, emerging from races with ancient culture and civilisation, into the world community, world economy and traffic, so that they may collaborate more effectively in world progress, absorbing what is good of our world, and giving us what is good of theirs. In tropical Africa or the Pacific we have for the most part primitive races that seem at present to have but little to contribute, and that must undergo long years of patient work before they can effectively assimilate the best that we can offer. Unlike the eastern races, they have been brought suddenly into contact with an economically and materially advanced world. In thirty years they have encountered changes which took five hundred years in Europe for their accomplishment. They seem hardly in a position as yet to co-operate. It is rather our business at present so to guide them as to develop them to their own advantage and the advantage of the world.

<sup>1</sup> As has been explained in the Preface, this is a statement of principles which seemed to the writer to emerge from international discussions in which he took part. It is not a statement of existing colonial education policy, which is to be found in Part II. Though the conclusions are, it is thought, such as will be widely accepted, they are stated in this chapter solely as the writer's personal views.

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None the less, common principles governing our treatment of both sets of problems not only can be found, but must be found, and are indeed being found. These universal principles are based on the solidarity of the human race, the oneness of human mentality, and the common aim of human progress. It is essentially a belief in this solidarity that animates educational work in the dependencies.

How reconcile this talk of solidarity with all the many references to adaptation in this book? Why trouble to adapt education—either content or methods—if the human race is one and not a collection of diverse units? We must bear in mind not only the need for adapting to local needs and conditions much that we have to offer, and our mode of offering, but also the possibility of offering much that requires and, indeed, admits of no adaptation. Our consciousness of the need for adaptation and selection is partly due to what anthropology and sociology have taught us. But it is also a symptom of humility born of bitter experience. Our recognition of the possibility of joyful, generous, and unconditional offering is a symptom of optimism resulting from consideration of what is best in our western world and of what deserves and is capable of diffusion throughout the world.

Why should we be humble? We are humble in our attitude to the Far East and the African races because the events of this century have shown us the evil brought upon the world by what are sometimes called

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its advanced peoples. We have indeed advanced technologically and scientifically, dominating the world of nature, protecting ourselves against its risks, harnessing its forces for ever-increasing production. And the result of it all seems to be cruelty and barbarism in the relations of race to race and group to group, not enlightenment and peace. We can produce, but we cannot equitably distribute. We link up the whole world for commerce and communication and then relapse into mutually suspicious, mutually repellent and aggressive, self-sufficing units. We have not, by the accumulation of natural or individual wealth, increased the sum of human happiness. We are so busy safeguarding our accumulated wealth that we have no time to safeguard the spirit of man. We have come to believe that we live in order to make, mind, or use the tools that science has given us instead of regarding these tools as a means towards a fuller life. We are as much the slaves of fear and suspicion as the most primitive tribes of Africa. We have not their obvious reasons and excuses for such fear, but we have the tools and instruments to make that fear a source of terror to others. We have, in fact, subdued nature to find that we are unable to control ourselves. Our relations to nature have been adjusted. Our relations to our fellow-men are still those of the jungle.

Our faults, which we often fail to recognise in the familiar life of our own world, stand out, like the scarlet letter, when we study the lives of alien races that have been modelled on our own. It is in his children that

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a man detects his failings. How, then, can we dare to teach Africa or the East to become like ourselves?

We detest, too, that spiritual dictatorship of the State, that claims to decide what is socially, intellectually, and culturally desirable for members of a state, when we see it exemplified in other countries. Politically, some of us may doubt with Lincoln whether any government not too strong for the liberties of its people can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. But, educationally, we unite in detesting State-imposed culture and a State-evolved conception of truth, morality, or art. Why, then, should a dominant western Power impose on the East or Africa a "western" view of life?

Specially do we detest the weighing in the balance of so-called racial culture, racial achievements, and racial possibilities. It is not merely the absurdity of the Nordic or Aryan claims, the child of ignorance by fear, that rouses our resentment. We talk no longer of Anglo-Saxon virtues or of French failings. We believe that national characteristics are determined by many factors and that it is not primarily the biological factor which makes a nation or race strong in some ways and weak in others. Our blood, like our language, we believe to be wonderfully and fortunately mixed. We find as much cultural difference between the African Bantu and the American negro as between the Bantu and the Englishman. We are ready to talk of Aryan and Nordic languages, but agree with Professor Macmillan that to speak of an Aryan race, blood, eyes, or hair is as

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absurd as to speak of a dolichocephalic dictionary or brachycephalic grammar. We do not forget that, even if an Aryan culture is admitted, its assumed characteristics are found among eastern as well as western races. We know that the religion of so-called Aryan races in the West spread from a Semitic race in the East; that in our English art and learning as well as in our English vocabulary we owe a debt to all the lands and races with which we have fortunately come into contact; that we owe to the Arabs the preservation of much that was culturally valuable in the Dark Ages; that our English poets admit the influence of Tagore and our artists the stimulating effect of African wood-carving and brass-work; that it is not only Whistler and Lafcadio Hearn who have acknowledged a debt to Japan; that China has given much besides paper and the doubtful gift of gunpowder to the West. Even those of us who are prepared to admit quite distinctive forms of racial culture realise that they cannot be classified as superior or inferior forms. We may compare the actual achievements of various races, but we attribute them to environment, history, and geography, to all the circumstances, in fact, that have modelled their growth, rather than to blood, or length of head or weight of brain. If we consider potential and not actual achievement we decline to attempt any order of merit.

Another reason for humility, for our reluctance to impose ideas or values on others, is the growing recognition of the fact that one cannot increase the happiness of others merely by developing their receptivity, by

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making them passive recipients either of material comforts or of other people's ideas, whether intellectual or spiritual. Happiness depends on creative activity, and it is that, the desire and power of self-expression, that we must stimulate in those we care for. We can help them to find themselves, provide means and conditions for growth, inspire them with a desire to transcend their merely biological equipment, and to change or look beyond their environment, stimulate

Those obstinate questionings of a creature  
Moving about in worlds not realised,  
Which, be they what they may,  
Are yet the masterlight of all our being.

Recognition of this aim makes us chary of every kind of imposition. It is quite another thing if, of their own accord, as creative agents and in no passive spirit, the peoples committed to our charge demand all that we have to give them. Such a request cannot lightly be set aside. But of that more hereafter. What has here to be emphasised is the healthy conception of culture as a process of growth, a means of self-expression, creative purpose, that in races as in individuals needs to be fostered. Growth involves change, but it involves also continuity. If we impart abruptly, we may not only check the growth; we may eradicate the plant.

Anthropology gives us a warning note here. If it merely leads us to look on the primitive or alien cultures as something picturesque, which it would be a pity to change, it is educationally harmful. But, in so far as it emphasises the functional aspect of all culture,

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it is helpful, teaching us to value an idea, a rite, or tradition, not absolutely, but in relation to its usefulness in the preservation and development of a society. Studying a primitive society, we study our own origins and find the seed of much that we value now for ourselves. We find in sorcery and magic the beginnings of science and religion. We learn

To trace love's faint beginnings in mankind;  
    . . . to sympathise, be proud  
Of their half-reason, faint aspirings, dim  
Struggles for the truth, their poorest fallacies,  
Their prejudice and fear and cares and doubts.  
Like plants in mines that never see the sun,  
They dream of him and guess where he may be  
And do their best to climb and get to him.

We refuse to believe in a completely prelogical state of mind, finding in the most primitive a rational behaviour, an unimpeachable logic, and a definite power of observation. We note with joy that the purely economic man of the Marxian myth is as absent from the primitive world as from our own world. Art and ritual, song and dance, are necessary, though they do not fill the belly. Ornament precedes clothing.

And, lastly, as a reason for humility, we call to mind the horrors to which standardisation of taste and culture, mass-production, and subjection to machinery have brought us. We realise, because we no longer enjoy it, the value of personality and individualism in all aspects of life. We shrink from imposing on other races a uniformity that will reduce their rich and

coloured variety to the drab monotony of the western world.

So much on the side of humility and reluctance to impose. What grounds have we for a more robust and optimistic faith in our ability to offer from our life something that may be of value to our wards? It is growth we have to foster; growth means change, grafting, air, and sunlight from outside as well as native soil. Society that lacks the means of growth lacks the means of preservation. Genuine culture is never localised. "A creative response to outside influence is manifest in the cultured growths of all human groups." If we deny to western races or their so-called culture any intrinsic superiority, we must equally be careful not to attribute to other races or cultures any such superiority, merely because they are novel or picturesque. The East as a whole, if indeed it can be regarded as a whole, is not more "spiritual" than the so-called materialised West. The primitive African at his present stage of development may be more emotional, more sensitive, than the present-day Englishman. But that does not mean that spiritually he is a better man, or that in a later stage of development he will retain this characteristic. Every race can learn from other races, and ought to learn. Potentially, all have equal capacity. But at any given time various stages of development have been reached by various races. Spiritually and intellectually, as well as in the purely material sphere, some peoples are at any given time more advanced than others, not because of their blood

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or race, but because of other circumstances, climatic, historical, geographical, and so forth. They have a firmer grasp, a clearer idea, a keener desire for realisation, of certain ideals and values which have an absolute value, independent of time and space, and not related to particular circumstances or local conditions. These values they are bound to convey to peoples committed to their charge, just as a father must give to his children what has inspired his own life. It is, in fact, not the products of "western civilisation," which are often little more than the scum on the surface, that we want to communicate. It is the solid rock on which what is permanent and valuable in our western life is founded that we wish to select as the foundations of a new life in less fortunate lands. The task is indeed one of selection, because the rock is already there. We can dig down to it when we have found it.

The history of civilisation is really the history of the gradual diffusion of certain ideas and values throughout the world. These ideas and values, capable of growth and development in any soil or air, have emerged as a world force in particular centres, and from these centres have radiated outwards in ever-extending circles. We of the West are mainly concerned with the ideas and values that first attained strength between 800 B.C. and A.D. 500 among the races that fringed the Mediterranean Sea. It is on the ideas of freedom of thought and unfettered search for truth, associated with the Greek race, of law, order, and justice, associated with the Roman race, and of a divinely ordered world progress,

associated with the Jews, that our western civilisation is founded. It is these ideas that we are pledged to propagate. They are associated in origin with certain races, but these races are not solely responsible for them. Greek, Roman, and Jew learned much from one another and owed much to non-Mediterranean races, Babylonian and Egyptian, which were also agents of diffusion. By a happy combination of circumstances they provided a nursery, as it were, for these values or ideas. That they are not dependent on any particular race is shown by their propagation among races that have very little in common with the Mediterranean races of the first century A.D. We are considering, in fact, ideas and values on which human growth, individual or racial, depends. In any human being or race there comes a stage when the attitude towards life which these values and ideas engender must be developed if stagnation and decay are to be avoided. There is nothing local in such values. It is, for example, because Islam as a creed and attitude towards life is incompatible with complete freedom of thought and speculation that states and races which have remained pre-eminently Mohammedan have not advanced on "western" lines. The reason for their stagnation is not that they are "oriental." There are eastern races and minds that have pre-eminently the "Greek" passion for free and unfettered thought and action, just as there are many western sects and individuals that resent any limits being placed on authority and tradition. Even those who think wrongly that India will never change

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are bound to admit that Japan in 1937 is fundamentally different from Japan of 1865. The only generalisation that is permissible about the congeries of peoples and races called by us the East is that they have changed more fundamentally during the last fifty years than most of the western peoples have done in the last five centuries.<sup>1</sup> The educated Hindu or Chinese to-day is in outlook and attitude to life considerably nearer the educated European than the uneducated peasantry of his own race. Those who talk about the unchanging East are mainly those who for racial or selfish reasons wish the relative position of eastern and western races to remain for ever as they were fifty years ago.

Assuming, then, not only a universal capacity for cultural development, but also its universal necessity, and refusing to mistake difference in stages of development for difference in racial ability, we are bound as educationists to have in view an ultimate good, a common civilisation, for the whole world, a framework, as it were, of universally accepted ideas and values, and within this framework a rich variety of local cultures, not mutually repellent or suspicious, but each ready and able to borrow and absorb what it is able to absorb without loss of identity. We have to realise that unless an advance is made towards the universal acceptance and realisation of these ideas and values the alternative is anarchy and disintegration of such civilisation as we have already. For we live in a rapidly

<sup>1</sup> See Edwyn Bevan on "The East and the West," in *Hellenism and Christianity*, George Allen & Unwin. I am indebted to that chapter for the main idea of this paragraph.

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contracting world. Modern science, with its transport facilities, and modern industry, with its far-reaching demands for raw materials and markets, make isolation impossible. All races are being drawn together, and if there are no ideas and values which unite mankind and reconcile apparently conflicting claims there must be suicidal strife. We have to choose between union and collision. "Akin by nature," said Confucius, "men are made strangers by their surroundings." It is the task of education to emphasise the kinship by leading races and individuals to what is best, by helping them to make the best of themselves, by showing what has absolute and universal value. It is only the best that can unite. "All humanity must enjoy the gifts of humanity. Otherwise humanity, including the privileged possessors of these gifts, will decay."

A gift, of course, postulates not only a giver but a willing and creative recipient. Even the best that the western world has to offer cannot be imposed on unwilling races. If they are to accept and use it, wise and able transmitters must be found, who can offer it in a form and mode and quantities adapted to local conditions. There must be adaptation, but only of method, not content.

What is to be our offering? What underlies our complex western world, what are its real foundations, its source of strength, that we are to try to establish elsewhere as our peculiar contribution to the common world civilisation? Skill and information we must, of course, impart, cautiously and carefully as occasion

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arises, and scope for its employment is assured; linguistic and technical skill; the fruits of western science and the long tale of the advance of the spirit of man that western history unfolds. We must trace also the laborious steps by which western man has harnessed nature to his material ends and the occasional troubles and frequent failures that have marked his efforts to control himself in the relations of man to man. But skill and information alone will not make a new world, still less a united world. It is not enough for us to help our wards to get what they want. We must inspire them to want and to want the right things, to have the right attitude towards life, an attitude that we hope and believe all will one day adopt.

What is this attitude? Is it that of rationalism? "No matter how strong the League of Nations may be, or how completely the world may be policed, so long as mankind is divided into a diversity of races there can be no real peace. The only way is to bring all our inborn tribal instincts and racial prejudices under the rule of reason."<sup>1</sup> Certainly a necessary task and one that western peoples are competent to perform. For it is among western peoples that has been fostered the passion for free inquiry and speculation, for accurate observation and systematic thought engendered among the Mediterranean races and associated with the name of Greece. With this love of freedom, in action as well as thought, is combined the love of discipline and order, law and justice, that we associate

<sup>1</sup> Sir Arthur Keith, Address to the British Association, 1933.

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with Rome. Ordered freedom, liberty conditioned by obligation to our fellow-men, is a treasured idea of the Anglo-Saxon races. All this is comprehended under the name of rationalism, and it is much. But is it enough?

Undoubtedly, we must develop through our schools and colleges habits of observation and honest and reasonable inference—a rational attitude, in fact, towards life. Good intentions in themselves are not enough; they may, in fact, be very dangerous in the field of social, economic, and political reform unless they are associated with clear and honest thinking.

If all the good people were clever  
And all that were clever were good,  
The world would be better than ever  
We thought that it possibly could.

Admitting that educationally these lines are more wholesome than the often quoted, "Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever," we are still faced with the necessity of making people not only more clever but also more good.

Does the rationalist attitude supply a motive to action, a desire to advance? Is the rational aim service to mankind or merely selfish individual progress? It may be "reasonable" for the nations of the world to co-operate instead of lurking behind fences of armaments and tariffs. But it does not seem as though widespread rationalism will be able unaided to triumph over a prevailing type of ignorant nationalism.

Is it enough if to rationalism, the love of clear

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thinking and freedom, system and order, we add what is vaguely called now the humanistic spirit, that passionate belief in the regeneration of society by concentrated human effort? You have only, says the humanist, to teach men what the spirit of man has actually achieved in the past to make your pupils ready and anxious to carry further those achievements. Teach them to believe in man by showing what is best in him as recorded in history and in art, and you will create the desire and ability to give what is best for the world's progress. "Our highest aim," says Aristotle, "must be to produce a certain type of character in our citizens, making them good and able to do fine things." Admittedly a noble creed, that of humanism, working on some with all the force of a religion. It may be found in East and West to-day, sometimes producing heroic action. But can it be said that the state of the world to-day is convincing proof of its efficacy?

It can inspire the individual to subordinate his interests to those of the group of which he forms a part. But such subordination is an essential feature of primitive tribal life. Humanism, like tribal life, cannot adjust the claims of the individual and the group, safeguard the interest of minorities, or remove the fear that separates class from class and nation from nation. If it has failed in Europe, it is not likely to reconcile the claims of East and West or to soften the clash of colour. Devoid of any superhuman standard, and of any authority that can transcend race or group, tending inevitably to confuse right with might, and to infer the justice

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of a cause from its success, it cannot bring about the economic or cultural unity of the world.

Many, of course, who express these doubts will add that human nature, in which the humanist professes such touching faith, is essentially aggressive, selfish and warlike. Every race and nation for itself and the devil take the hindmost. Recent history offers us no arguments against this defeatism which is so prevalent to-day. There is only one body of doctrine, one creed, one attitude that has as its essential feature a firm confidence in the possibility of human progress. That is the Christian attitude, which bases its faith in a divinely ordered world on recorded facts, personal experience, and hard thinking.

It is this Christian faith which offers the world not only the confidence in human nature that so many of us lack, but also the unifying element and the external superhuman standard of conduct which humanism lacks and the motive power that rationalism cannot give. It is certainly the only religion compatible with the love of freedom of thought and action that rationalism rightly emphasises; Christianity asserts the dignity and value of the individual soul, and this means freedom in which to grow. And it is consistent with the highest form of humanism, for it was in the form of man that God revealed His nature.

“Great Empires and little minds go ill together.”

In the schools and colleges of our dependencies we have to rise to the height of our great argument and educate our minds to the greatness of our charge. If we

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examine aims as well as achievements, if we insist on an explicit statement of motives that British reserve shrinks from revealing, we shall find underlying the educational work of government departments as well as Christian missions in the dependencies evidence of convictions essential to success. Boldly stated, they are a belief in the potential equality of all races of mankind



## II

### OTHER POINTS OF VIEW

THE principles suggested in the preceding chapter were challenged by some members of an International Conference on Education in the Pacific Areas convened by the University of Hawaii at Honolulu in 1936. These members, representing a school of thought which is educationally influential in the United States to-day, questioned the existence of any universally valid scheme of values and the desirability of any attempt to mould the character of an individual or race by external influence relying for authority on the assumed existence of such values. The chief aim of education, according to this school of thought, is intellectual, a training of the mind with a view to the solution of problems and the meeting of situations that have arisen or are likely to arise, the degree of success depending on the impression of reality that such problems make on the pupils and the extent to which the engendered activity of mind has been "self-purposed." Motivation is secured by intellectual process and valued as a means of accelerating and intensifying that process. Local standards of conduct and schemes of value will emerge as a result of trained minds brought to bear on local situations. There are no absolute standards or schemes of value. Religion must be left out of account.

The following counter-statement, which I submitted to the Honolulu Conference, develops the principles

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set forth in the preceding chapter in the light of discussion of those principles at the Honolulu Conference.

The educator's prime object of attention is individual personality, not a group or a group's mode of life. Individual personality is determined in relation to other personalities. The individual cannot be considered without reference to his group. The value to a group of its mode of life and traditions (culture) can be judged: (a) with reference to its effectiveness in securing survival, continuity, and growth of the group; (b) with reference: (i) to its influence on the individuals of the group, (ii) to its relations with other groups, (iii) to the contribution which it makes or is capable of making to the welfare of the world.

Continuity and growth of a group depend on: (a) a critical understanding of its culture by its individual members; (b) a critical response by its individual members to relevant stimuli from outside the group.

Tests of relevancy are: (a) Material and pragmatic. That is relevant which ensures survival of the group and its material progress. For survival and material growth a sense of social cohesion is required in individuals of the group. Disintegration means collapse. Partial surrender of individual freedom is needed to ensure survival of an individual as a social being. (b) Spiritual and absolute. Those stimuli are relevant which ensure persistence of individual personality in a coherent group and its development on lines appropriate to human personality, irrespective of the particular group to which the individual belongs.

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Personality implies unification of chance desires, stray thoughts, by a dominant purpose and scale of values. How is this dominant purpose determined? To some extent by loyalty to group. Such loyalty can be carried far beyond what the material interests of the individual require. He can, and often does, give up his life for the group. This seems to imply an objective and spiritual standard of conduct, of which educators must take account; but experience proves that individuals are also inspired by dominant purposes that transcend or run counter to material interests of the group. History provides examples of dominant purpose not determined by group cohesion. (a) Individuals, as human beings, protest, at risk to themselves, against the "inhuman" action of a group, despite a group's justification of such action as a necessary defence or survival measure. (b) Just as individuals surrender a measure of freedom in the interests of the group, so a group surrenders some of its freedom to become part of a larger group. Human progress demands an ever-widening concept of social cohesion, from family to tribe, caste or class, and so onwards to nation. Art, science, philosophy, and religion have achieved international status. The need for such status is recognised in economics and politics. Individuals are liable to inspiration by a purpose which takes into account human interests transcending the largest group to which they belong. Human progress depends on the development of such individual purpose.

The task of education is to develop in the individual

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a scale of human values that transcends the material interests of his group and through such training to "humanise" the group in its relations: (a) to individual members of the group (e.g., safeguarding liberty of criticism or rights of minorities); (b) to other groups. Without such training of individuals a group tends to become more dangerous to human progress as science develops its instruments of repression and aggression.

Unity does not mean uniformity. Effective development of individual personality, which must always be in relation to other personalities, demands on the educator's part a unified conception of humanity, familiar already to the world of religion, art, and philosophy, but absent from the world of politics and economics. The human mind finds it impossible to stop short, in thought and aspiration, of ultimate unity. For the educator, what is common, actually or potentially, to members of various groups or races is more important than what differentiates them. Scope for infinite variety in the application of universally accepted standards and in modes of life and self-expression is not restricted by such standards.

The educator's attitude towards distinctive cultures must not be sentimental. He will value a mode of life or means of self-expression (art or language), *not* because it is different from all other modes but because: (a) it is needed by the group as a means of survival and growth; (b) it permits the development of individual qualities desirable in man, viewed as a human being and not as a member of a group; (c) it is capable of a

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distinctive contribution to the pattern of human life. Survival or surrender of a culture must depend on the decision of the group, trained by the educator to evaluate and criticise that culture in response to external stimuli. There must be no opposition to a group's desire to merge its mode of life in that of a larger group for economic, political or social reasons, and no support of a dominant group's desire to suppress the culture of a weaker group for political or economic reasons. History suggests that unification based on religion, politics, or economics, does not necessarily involve suppression of distinctive cultures within the unified area.

The past, present, and future are factors in the educational process. The educator prepares the individual for future action (in and for the group) by interpretation of present experience in the light of past experience.

There must be no artificial restriction of the field of experience requiring interpretation. For an understanding of the natural world, and utilisation of its laws in production of material wealth, instruction in science is necessary. Here it may be enough to summarise the results of past experience, concentrating on their bearing on present and future. For understanding of the spirit of man, its achievements and possibilities, for guidance in the use and distribution of wealth, and for securing rational enjoyment of life, careful study of the past, consideration of stages of growth, are necessary as well as a survey of the stage now reached. In these humanistic studies (which include history, literature, and other arts) the history of science (as a record of

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human achievement) finds a place. Humanistic studies assist future action by showing the aim and significance of achievement as well as the process. Naturalistic studies assist future action only by explaining the process of achievement. Action in so far as it is based on scientific knowledge has materially only one aim—survival and material production. It may have any one of many ethical aims. The selection of such aim depends on humanistic studies.

We cannot therefore exclude religion from the field of experience which is to be interpreted. No significant item of experience can be ignored by the educator. He may deny its significance, as summarised in traditions or dogmas of a group. If he admits it, he cannot shirk the responsibility of relating it to other parts of the field of experience. Isolation of religion from the educational sphere involves either its disappearance or a dual personality in the pupils. To the educator no portion of present experience can be "sacred," i.e. tabooed for purposes of interpretation or relation to the whole. This applies also to politics or economics. The exposition of religious, political, or economic experience must be both sympathetic and critical.

A dominant group must offer to others what it values, but must not impose it. Avoidance of imposition by a dominant group involves development in a subordinate group of trained and enlightened public opinion. This involves the development of higher education on liberal lines, side by side with mass education. If we subordinate liberal education to professional

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education, or let cultural development wait on economic development, we are not training those for whom we are responsible to choose for themselves or to make any scale of values their own.

The difference between these two statements of principles may be attributed, in part at least, to the difference in the conditions that have affected educational development in England and in the United States. It is not, of course, implied that either statement represents a national point of view. In the following chapter the impossibility of ascertaining the British attitude towards the education of the subject races will be emphasised. It would be equally unwise to attempt to define an American attitude. But it is legitimate, bearing in mind that the statements are personal, not representative, to suggest that the former statement, taken as a whole, would get more support than the latter statement among American educationists and that the latter statement would make more appeal to the British educational world; the details of each statement would, of course, be challenged on both sides.

The difference in attitude between the American representatives and those of other countries besides Great Britain, revealed at the international conference, may have been due partly to the strong influence exerted on the American group by "intellectualisation," and by such concepts as "purposeful activity," so prominent in what is called the "Progressive Education" school of thought. But I suspect that the

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reason for the leaning towards Dewey's educational theory, and also for the American attitude, viewed as a whole, may be found in the historical antecedents and the local conditions of education work in the American continent. These conditions, in the U.S.A. and also in Central and South America, are so different from those of the non-American nations represented at the conference that it would have been surprising if a distinctive line of thought had not emerged. More particularly, the last Mexican revolution seems to have had an abiding influence.

In the United States the fact that in less than one and a half centuries civilisation has been pushed forward from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast cannot be left out of account. To the American educator the meeting of new situations remains, as for the pioneer, the main task. The immediate future occupies the centre of the stage. It seems likely to present new problems for which precedent and tradition will be of little use. Far more important is nimbleness of mind, ability to analyse the present situation, and to see what is round the corner. Moreover, as the future is not yet clearly known, it is a waste of time to consider principles of action which may afford no guidance under totally new conditions.

I don't believe in Principle,  
But, oh, I do in Interest.

Interest the child or race in its present situation, encourage self-purposed activity, and the result will

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probably be in accordance with the welfare of the child and race. There seems to be here not only the instinct of a pioneer race but also the faith of a democrat; belief in the ability of the individual, if he has been taught to think, to look after his own interests without prejudice to others. It is also the faith of the humanist —to be expected perhaps in a country where the isolation of religion from the work and education system of the State seems to have been necessitated by the course of events.

PART II  
ESTABLISHED PRINCIPLES

## EDUCATION POLICY IN THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE Colonial Empire with which we are concerned excludes, of course, India and the Dominions. It excludes also the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, controlled in respect of British interests by the Foreign Office; North Borneo, administered by a chartered company; and Sarawak, governed by an English Raja. It includes the Crown Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories for which the Secretary of State for the Colonies is responsible to the House of Commons. For educational purposes we need not distinguish these three classes of dependencies. The Empire with which we are concerned was acquired approximately between 1800 and 1920—the West Indies, the other island groups and the Far Eastern colonies dating from the earlier part of the period, the tropical African colonies, except Sierra Leone, and parts of the Gold Coast, from the later part.

The difficulty of treatment results from the variety rather than the size of the Colonial Empire. It covers about two and a half million square miles, thirty times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, but easily swallowed by the United States or Canada. Its population of about 57,000,000 is not much more than that of the British Isles, though double that of all the Dominions. But it comprises the ancient civilisations of Ceylon, Palestine, and China, as well as the primitive culture of tropical Africa, and a great variety of creeds, regions

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where Islam and Judaism face one another, and where Polynesian cults or Buddhism are in contact with Hinduism. Relations between widely different religious cults and social structures have to be adjusted. In the small island of Trinidad live representatives of six of the important races of the world and of at least seven religions.

In Africa we have the completely detribalised as well as the still tribal Bantu, Arab races proud of their Islamic traditions, and negro races who have lost their language and culture. Economically, the Empire is mainly agricultural but includes some highly urbanised and industrial areas. Politically, it ranges from the elaborate system of self-government in Ceylon to the simple methods of the Solomon Islands. In many parts there can be no question yet of detailed and definite education policy. We are constantly reminded, and we need reminders, that effective education is a communal secretion, a mode of self-expression, an instrument for ensuring continuity and growth. It cannot be imposed from without. External agency can assist, or, more frequently, impede the growth. But the nature of the growth will be determined largely by internal and incalculable forces and by local conditions. Conditions may be altered from without. A particular attitude of mind may be encouraged from without. But a community's reaction to external forces or changed conditions can never be foretold. "Unexpected results" would provide material for a bright and interesting book.

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No Secretary of State for the Colonies is unaware of this or anxious to adopt too definite a policy. He will be content with a few assumptions and a statement of general principles. And he will not be surprised if these principles in their local application are adapted with the utmost elasticity to local conditions.

What are these assumptions? The schoolmaster, of course, never has any doubt regarding the nature and correctness of his principles or the wrongness of the man next door. Unfortunately, the principles underlying effective education do not relate to technique, but are concerned with economic, political and fundamentally ethical questions. Colonial education departments depend ultimately for their charter on the attitude of the House of Commons and English nation towards life.

But the English nation has not got an attitude, in the sense that the French nation or the totalitarian state has an attitude. It is possible for a dominant race with a definite and clear-cut attitude towards life, and explicit religious, political and economic assumptions, to devise an equally definite and clear-cut policy for the education of its subject peoples. But the English people are vague in their thought and inarticulate in its expression. We have been visited by shrewd foreign observers who have commented, often to our surprise, on what they believe to be our assumptions. The nature of these assumptions is not known to the English electorate.

There is no one document which defines the official

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attitude to our subject races. Since the days of Burke there has been much talk of trusteeship, a metaphorical mode of speech, which came into wider use when the European powers distributed Africa in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and secured final international recognition in the post-War mandate system. "In mandated territories"—so the mandate runs—"inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust to civilised peoples." It is perhaps unfortunate that a term which critics of colonial administration can apply in its strict legal sense has been so freely used as a metaphorical expression of responsibility for the welfare of the subject races. But the term "dual mandate," which is used by Lord Lugard, is not open to such misunderstanding and is more comprehensive. Our task is twofold—so to develop the lands and races committed to our charge as to benefit the world as a whole, including, of course, ourselves, and also the races that inhabit those lands. This formula would probably commend itself to the English electorate, if colonial affairs were ever an election issue. The conception has not been accepted in so many words by His Majesty's Government, but it is implicit in many of its pronouncements and may be regarded as determining its attitude, not only to mandated territories, but generally to all dependencies. There are, of course, occasions when it seems difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the interests of representatives of

the governing race with native interests. Though there is no general formula covering all such cases, there are several pronouncements—more particularly the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, 1931, on East African Affairs—which make it plain that in the particular case under reference native interests must be paramount. There may have been pronouncements where critics have found ambiguity or lack of precision. But it may be said generally of pronouncements since the War, with which period we are concerned, that they recognise the duties of trusteeship in its metaphorical sense.

No doubt the education departments would like somewhat clearer guidance. Are they educating their pupils for a world in which they are to be first or second? They know, anyhow, that there will be a determined, though not always effective, effort to avoid the need for choice and to reconcile interests. The education officer would like also more precise definition of political aims. Are we to educate our pupils for self-government? The answer to this will be yes. But what kind of self-government is our ultimate aim? Is it to be democratic self-government? Lord Morley said that it was as absurd to give democratic government to tropical races as it was to give a fur coat to a man on the Equator. Twenty years later democratic self-government was given to India. "Have we Dominion status in view? Can we specify areas or races for which such a status seems worth taking into account now?" "What are the stages through which the more primitive races

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must pass?" "Is 'indirect rule' in tropical Africa a stage in the journey or journey's end?" The replies to such questions would be vague. There would be a reference to Ceylon, recently endowed with an interesting and genuine measure of self-government, or to certain West Indian colonies where wholly elected legislative councils function in a constitution resembling that of England under the Stuarts. But the general tenor of the reply would probably be: "Self-government is, of course, our ultimate aim, but it would be useless to look far ahead." And there is much to be said for such a reply if one remembers the Solomon Islands and other such peaceful backwaters, or areas where anxious care for minorities or racial and religious antagonism disturbs and hampers the political philosopher. But it is not a reply that helps the practitioner of higher education.

The secondary schoolmaster or college lecturer would like also to know for what kinds of administration work he is training his pupils. Are they to occupy posts of the highest responsibility and gradually replace white men in these posts as trained and competent candidates become available? The crudity of this question might provoke and would certainly justify a very cautious reply. The questioner would, however, learn that in Ceylon the majority of posts, including highly responsible offices, are filled by local candidates; that on the west coast of Africa, as well as in other territories with a longer and more distinguished education history, there are Africans in responsible

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positions; that more particularly in the technical departments—public works—agriculture—medicine—education—there is a fair field for qualified local candidates, and that in appointments, as in the case of educational facilities, there is no statutory colour bar. He would find in some areas a marked absence of local men in responsible administrative posts, and reasons for such absence that would deserve attention. Looking back at India, he would note that the theory that good government was no substitute for self-government was taught by the British in the schools of British India for a hundred years. But only after a period of maladjustment and stress has self-government finally been given to India.

Clearly, the education department that awaits guidance from the English nation expressed through constitutional channels is likely to be disappointed. Our education departments, in fact, do not wait. They go ahead, producing results sometimes that are difficult to adjust to the political or economic tendencies of local administration. Idealism in the classroom is comparatively easy. In one colony plans for technical training have overlooked the fact that a white labour union on the railways is blocking the employment of the native in skilled occupations. In another, plans for the instruction of the villager in the growing of cash crops are disturbed by a conviction outside the education department that those particular crops are better left to large-scale industry. A history syllabus may create grave misgivings outside the education

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department on the grounds that it pays too much attention to politics and too little to economics. But if an education department gets no very clear guidance regarding the ethical, political, and economic assumptions underlying the administration of its area, suggestions are or can be placed at its disposal by a body constituted to consider colonial education problems and so composed as to be able to consider the bearing of economic or political conditions on such problems. There is in fact such a body which adapts its educational advice to what it believes to be the political and economic conditions and assumptions of particular areas or the Colonial Empire as a whole. It is for the Secretary of State, when he passes on these suggestions to the colonial governments, to say how far he thinks they are compatible with present or contemplated conditions. If he thinks them quite incompatible he may prefer not to circulate them.

This body of educational advisers<sup>1</sup> tries in all its work to avoid that aloofness and isolation, to which educators are prone. It is not only that schools and school-masters are conditioned in their work by circumstances which they cannot control, but must understand. They have also to remember that it is not only the education department that educates. Every white man who comes into contact with a primitive race is participating, for good or bad, in its education, as employer of labour, tourist, missionary, or Government officer. And more particularly, the Government departments

<sup>1</sup> The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

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responsible for the social services and economic development—public health—agriculture—public works—are essentially education departments. Co-ordination of all these kinds of education is now a cardinal feature of our policy; with a view to promoting such co-ordination this Advisory Committee has now established close touch with the Medical and Agricultural Advisory Committees. As a first result co-ordinated plans for rural welfare work, in which the school is only one factor, are emerging.<sup>1</sup>

What power has this Committee, through the Secretary of State whom it advises, to influence education policy? Before this question is answered, and to explain what may seem a disappointing answer, the history of our colonial education work must be considered. It is a very English story. In practically all our dependencies the Government at first ignored education, being concerned with the maintenance of law and order, defence from external attack, and economic development. Education they left to the Christian missions, to whom they gave usually a free hand. And they did not interfere with local and indigenous methods of education. Thus we see that from the start a fundamental feature of our colonial policy established itself; free scope for private enterprise, a suspicion or mistrust of rigid official control, arising, no doubt, from the absence of clear educational ideas on the Government's part, as well as from a lack of belief in education, and a feeling that more important matters demanded all

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A to this chapter.

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their time and energy. In course of time gusts of public opinion at home, combined with demands from the missions for financial help, and disputes between missions, led to the establishment of education departments. In Fiji, which came under British control in 1874, there was no education department in the strict sense of the term till the present century had begun. There, as in several African dependencies, a fully developed and effective department came into existence only after the War. Up to 1918 there was no adequate consideration by the Colonial Office of colonial education problems on general lines. Locally, there was considerable official activity, and in some dependencies inquiries and reports by commissions, members of which were sometimes appointed by the Secretary of State. Prior to the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Education there was within the Colonial Office no machinery for expert consideration of education policy.

Only after the War, and then in Africa alone for a time, was home interest in colonial education fully aroused. The mandation of territories to the victorious Powers quickened the sense of responsibility for all primitive races. If we were trustees we must be up and doing. Simultaneously, the recently instituted International Missionary Council, with its headquarters in London, was greatly influenced by a leader with educational insight and enthusiasm. And as gadflies on our flanks we had Dr. Jesse Jones and the Phelps Stokes Fund in the United States. The two reports of

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the expert and inter-racial commissions sent by the trustees of that fund, 1921-3, to investigate education in western and eastern Africa convinced the Secretary of State of the need for overhauling our educational work with the help of an expert committee. The Missionary Council, the veteran administrator, Lord Lugard, and Mr. Ormsby Gore, at that time Under-Secretary of State, fanned the flame, and the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa came into existence in 1924. On this Committee educational experts with home experience came into touch with representatives of colonial education and of colonial administrative and economic experience and with mission representatives. Representatives of the Colonial Office were added to keep the Committee in touch with "realities." The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State became *ex officio* chairman.

By the time the Advisory Committee came into being, after a long spell of go-as-you-please procedure, most dependencies had developed strong local feeling, were suspicious of outside influence, and convinced that what was good for another colony was *ipso facto* useless for themselves. Moreover, as the Committee originated from anxiety about African education, and in fact confined its attention to African affairs up to 1929, when it was enlarged and reconstituted as the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, other dependencies which were brought within its range in that year were inclined to question the soundness of its judgment on non-African questions, more particularly, of course,

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our eastern dependencies, in contact with ancient and influential cultures so different from those of primitive tribes in Africa. Moreover, these dependencies had been managing their own educational affairs for a considerable period of time.

But, although at the outset the attitude of the non-African dependencies may not have been so sympathetic or receptive as that of the African dependencies, this distinction has tended to disappear. The Committee has not obtruded its advice, and it has studied local conditions as far as possible. It has also conferred with Directors of Education home on leave. It has often been found that conclusions reached by the Committee are the same as conclusions reached as the result of local experience and experiment.

The advice tendered to the Secretary of State is passed on to the colonies for consideration with due reference to local conditions. In those dependencies where there is a large measure of self-government, and where the legislative council consists mainly or entirely of elected members, the advice may be, and sometimes is, disregarded. In the more autocratically governed dependencies the advice is usually interpreted in the nature of instructions. But even in such areas the Governor's personal attitude counts for much. It is possible for him so to interpret local conditions as to make the tendered advice impossible. The Governors, when they are home on leave, confer with the Education Committee and mutual understanding is thereby increased.

We may now proceed to a summary of the main principles emphasised by the Advisory Committee in their general memoranda and in memoranda referring to particular areas or problems. To some extent they represent conclusions reached independently by colonial education departments.

The Committee has emphasised from the start the need for some moral safeguard against disintegration of the social structure and against excessive individualism. It believes that such ethical teaching can most surely be based on religious foundations. In its 1925 memorandum on education in tropical Africa the Committee says, "Contact with [western] civilisation, and even education itself, must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African, it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened, and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects." Long before this pronouncement was made for Africa, the governments of African and other dependencies had welcomed the co-operation of the Christian churches and missions, foreign as well as English, which had preceded them in the educational field, and had financially aided their education work. But such co-operation had been welcomed mainly on

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financial grounds. Mission schools cost the Government less than Government schools. Now for the first time the educational value of religious instruction was emphasised, and an integral place in the curriculum was assured for it. No attempt was made by the Committee to evaluate the different religions. A welcome was assured to all religions whose rites and doctrines were consistent with ethical growth. In practice more encouragement has been given to Christian mission schools in "pagan" areas, where primitive religions are found, than in areas where ancient and highly developed religions are firmly established. It may be added that missionaries have moved with the times. As a result of anthropological research and the comparative study of religions, efforts are being made by those working among primitive tribes to build on tribal foundations, incorporating in Christian ritual what is potentially valuable in the primitive rites.

Secondly, great importance is attached to private education enterprise and non-official agencies; this is a fundamental feature of English policy at all times and in all places. We have seen already the important role assigned to private agency in the sphere of religious education, and we have touched on the financial benefit of such co-operation. There is a third advantage, recently stressed by the Committee. Private enterprise means, in a wise administration, a variety of aims and methods, a departure from official standardisation and rigid uniformity which the English detest. The education department cannot divest itself of responsibility

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for the ultimate control of education and for the provision of facilities. It must see that a certain standard is reached and maintained and that no harm, physical or moral, comes to the pupil. Subject to these conditions, it should encourage experiment and allow freedom of curriculum. It should tender advice and welcome advice. Meticulous inspection and control of details is to be avoided. There are areas where ninety per cent of the educational facilities are provided by the Christian missions.

We will now take the relations between indigenous cultures and civilisations, and what we may call generally western life and civilisation. Recognising the existence of some isolated areas, the Committee's views are based on a conception of the inevitability of this contact in a rapidly contracting world. The Committee's wish is to soften the violence of the impact, and to help the primitive or oriental race to analyse its own culture, to reject what restricts growth and to intensify what fosters it by methods and in accordance with principles found useful in the West. It aims at evolution, not revolution; synthesis, not substitution. It is somewhat shy of the slogan: "We want a good African or Malay or Fijian, not a bad European," realising that it is for the African or the Malay to decide for himself as he advances educationally to what extent he will drop indigenous traits and advance in others. We cannot determine his future. All we can do is to prevent him from being swept away unawares by a sudden influx of new ideas or new modes of life,

before he has been trained to understand his own mode of life, or to assimilate what is offered from without. We can help him to hold the fort until he is in a position to decide for himself whether it is worth holding. This position is summarised as follows in the Committee's memorandum of 1925: "The adaptation of educational ways and means to the mentality, aspirations, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving so far as possible the sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their own social life, but adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas as an agent of natural growth and evolution." The conception of social structure is dynamic, not static. "Adaptation to mentality" is a dangerous phrase, needing careful interpretation. The mentality to be taken into account is the mode of thought and feeling prevalent in an area or community at a given time, that is, when outside influence is brought to bear, not a mode peculiar to the race, biologically and intrinsically part of its own being. For the biological investigation of distinctive racial mentality the educationist is not responsible. His inevitable assumption is that all races of men have potentially equal capacities, and that the educator's business is to study the actual mentality of the race committed to his charge, adapting his method and even the content of his teaching to the stage of mentality which has been reached by the race without academic discussions of ultimate possibilities, and avoiding premature restrictions of these possibilities.

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Another fundamental assumption is that a creative response to outside influence is manifest in all cultural growth. We in the West have very much to offer to the East, to the Pacific, and to Africa, which they are capable of receiving. They have much to offer to us. We try to avoid artificial labels for their cultures, refusing to believe that the West is wholly material, or the East wholly spiritual; the West intrinsically progressive, and the East inert; the West essentially individualistic, and Africa and the Pacific essentially communal.

What are our views on the relation of the individual to the community, that question so vital to all who are concerned with tribal life in Africa, or Indian castes in Ceylon or Fiji, or the Chinese family in Hong Kong? Though disintegration must at all costs be avoided, the conditions of growth and development must be secured. This involves the training of the individual to criticise his communal life and ideas; criticism, of course, is based on understanding. First, study your environment, then try to improve it. The community exists for the individual, not the individual for the community. The individual depends upon the community and is conditioned by it. But a community's growth depends upon the initiative and trained criticism of its individuals. The problem is to restrain the individual until he is trained, and to preserve the social structure while the individual is learning his responsibilities as well as his rights, his ability for communal action as well as his power for self-advancement. Economically, it is

often a question at what stage private ownership and trade can safely intrude on communal life.

Progress requires economic as well as moral foundations. The social service must be financed by the produce of the country. The development of natural resources and acquisition of material wealth must be taken into account by the educator. Schools cannot initiate or develop industry. But they can and must develop vocational aptitude and the right attitude of mind. From the beginning the training of hand and eye is essential. A lively and intelligent interest in the industries of the neighbourhood must be cultivated. The Committee feels strongly that all specialised training must rest on a firm foundation of general education. Before a certain level of general education has been reached, that level depending on the nature of the profession or vocation in view, highly specialised training for a particular trade or industry must not be allowed to intrude. The nature and extent of such specialised training will be determined by the nature and extent of local industrial development. Over and above the agricultural and trade and technical schools which are provided to meet specific demands we have the educational work of the agricultural and other departments, which, through their demonstration farms and itinerant instructors, influence the adult population. It is for the education department to see that the adult population is equipped through its schools with an inquisitive, receptive, and intelligent mind. We aim at turning out from our ordinary schools, not

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trained mechanics or highly skilful cultivators, but men who will want to make progress in their vocations, and who will be capable of receiving special instruction.

We emphasise the value of a general education, not only as a basis of specialised training, but also because it gives what no specialised training can give—means for the enjoyment of life as distinct from means for the earning of a livelihood. Those who urge that a child should learn only what is useful are usually those who want a perpetual supply of cheap labour. They hope that the child who learns only to dig or hoe will never want to do anything else. It is not the business of the schools to feed the labour market. It is their business to help pupils, not only to live, but to live well. Pupils will stay in the villages if village conditions are improved. The pupil who has been enabled by a liberal education, adjusted to rural conditions, to take an intelligent interest in rural life is more likely to remain a villager than the countryman who has only been taught to dig and who migrates to the nearest town to earn urban wages which will relieve the monotony of his life by enabling him to visit the cinema and gin-shop. We hope that, for the enjoyment and advancement of life, the arts and crafts will be an integral part of the school's offering. Ornament usually precedes clothing in fortunate tropical countries. Music, the drama, and the plastic arts must proceed *pari passu* at least with the more utilitarian arts. In West Africa and in Malaya particularly effective steps have been taken to weave these arts into school life and to develop them

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on indigenous lines with tactful assistance from western technique. In the same areas much is being done for the encouragement of vernacular literature.

Before we leave this topic of general and vocational training we may note that in recent years, largely as a result of Dr. Julian Huxley's tour in East Africa, special stress has been laid on the teaching of elementary science with a biological bias. What we are aiming at is a school curriculum offering, not so much separate subjects, as separate aspects of community life. In the life of the community health and agriculture play an important part, and their promotion demands a scientific basis.

Among the school aims envisaged by the Committee is the training of the community in the administration of its own affairs, the inculcation of true ideas of service and citizenship. Such ideas are perhaps innate in all tribal life, and are to be found more interwoven into the social life of the Hindu, or the Chinese family life, than into the individualistic life of England and America. The problem is the retention of such social ideas in groups brought into violent contact with the West. In many parts of Africa, and in Fijian life, the educator has to take into account the principle of indirect rule, that is, the development of tribal administration on indigenous lines. There is, however, a constant danger that the native chief, with the power of the British Government behind him, will abandon the democratic traditions so strong in tribal life, the palaver with his elders, and so on, and that he will

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resort to autocratic methods which afford no scope for progress. He may resent the development of private trade and appropriate for his own benefit the skill and tools of those who have been trained in our schools. How to avoid a conflict between this system of indirect rule and the ideas fostered by our education is a real and urgent problem. What place is there in the system for the product of western education? The solution may be found in schools for chiefs, or schools organised on tribal lines such as have been established in Tanganyika Territory. It is more likely to be found in village welfare training centres where native chiefs take courses side by side with village teachers and technical department officers. This has been effective in Nyasaland, and the practice is spreading. Somehow or other, "the wisdom of the elders must be associated with the aspirations of the young."

We come next to the training of the directing classes, not "training for leadership" which suggests a school for dictators, but training for responsible posts in administration, social service, commerce, and industry; higher education, both general and professional. "The first task," says the Committee, "is to raise the standard of the bulk of the people. But provision must also be made for the administration and technical services as well as for positions of exceptional responsibilities. And, again, the door of advancement through higher education must be kept open for those who by ability and temperament show themselves fit to profit by such education." Not long ago the Committee, feeling that

even in undeveloped Africa there was a danger of the need for higher education being ignored, gave a reminder that the trained ability of a few gifted members meant as much to a race's welfare as the general standard of ability. What they emphasised as a goal for Africa may be regarded as an accepted, though only partially applied, principle elsewhere, namely, the provision of local facilities for undergraduate studies equivalent in value to what the student would get in England, and the acceptance by the Government of such courses, in assessing the claims of candidates for posts, as equivalent to English courses. The standardisation and testing of such courses are to be undertaken by the University of London until the University College is fit to ripen into a university. The Committee urged preference for such professional courses as the development of the area requires. The first essential is to ensure those social and economic conditions without which there is no economic basis for cultural advancement. Some members thought that suspicion of "purely academic and cultural subjects" was over-emphasised. Higher education of a general, rather than professional, type is certainly needed for the creation of enlightened public opinion. The Committee's statement has also been criticised as ignoring the claims of indigenous culture. Actually, African arts, crafts, and languages are strongly entrenched at Achimota College, and Chinese studies have recently been placed on a proper footing in the University of Hong Kong. The Committee has emphasised the desirability of the

educated class keeping in touch with the masses of their countrymen. It may be that indigenous culture will be the link. In our African colonies the drift so far has been in the other direction, and it cannot be said that the product of higher education has in the past been in close touch with the various aspects of local and racial life.

In secondary and higher education English is the recognised medium of instruction. As a subject of instruction it occupies an important place in the curriculum. A working knowledge of the language is the main, though not the only, aim in the secondary course, with fuller scope for literary and cultural treatment in the post-secondary stages. The importance of the local languages and literatures, and of the oriental "classical" languages, is recognised, though a place for them cannot always be found in secondary and higher education courses. Where the vernacular languages are still in a primitive condition their development should be encouraged. In tropical Africa, languages not previously committed to writing have been grouped, standardised, and provided with orthography and grammar. Some of these languages are now admitted by the University of London as examination subjects.

In the lower stages of education the Committee urges most strongly the need for instruction at the start being given through the medium of the mother tongue, though it accepts the need for a departure from this principle under certain local conditions. The transition

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to the use of English should be gradual, varying according to the nature of the subject, racial characteristics, and other local circumstances. English should not be introduced as a subject of instruction until some progress has been made with the mother tongue. The stage at which it should be introduced must depend upon the supply of competent teachers. There is no question anywhere of imposing on unwilling races the study of English. The demand for it is universal. The Committee opposes any restriction of such study based on political or economic fears. Properly taught, it need have no unsettling effect. A knowledge of it is required for progress and unification. The supply should be regulated by the supply of competent teachers.

Of women's education little need be said here. The Committee's views on the importance of such education are those of all civilised peoples. With the difficulties that it presents we shall deal later. There are women on the Advisory Committee, and they have insisted rightly that there shall be women on all local advisory boards.

Such are the more important principles emphasised by the Committee. They are not universally applied. Adaptation to local conditions sometimes makes them hardly recognisable. The effect of their application cannot be foreseen. That it will often be very different from what is expected is certain.

## APPENDIX A

### THE CO-ORDINATION OF EDUCATION WITH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

THE Advisory Committee on Education maintains touch with the committees that advise the Secretary of State on the promotion of agriculture and public health.<sup>1</sup> Subjects affecting the social or economic development of the dependencies are when necessary considered by representatives of these three committees jointly. Though the relation of education to local economic and social needs is an old-established principle, the need for joint consideration and co-ordination of plans for economic, social, and educational development has only recently been recognised. The failure of schemes in one or other of these spheres, which have been elaborated without due reference to development schemes in the interrelated spheres of action, has revealed the close interconnection of such subjects as trade and communications, public health, industry and labour supply, with one another and with education.

Much has been done recently towards devising a common economic policy for the Colonial Empire and establishing machinery for putting it into effect. In order to ensure economic information and systematic

<sup>1</sup> For much in the following paragraphs I am indebted to Sir W. H. McLean, a member of the Advisory Committee on Education, and more particularly to his article on "Economic and Social Development in the Colonies," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, April 1936.

co-ordination of production, *An Economic Survey of the Colonial Empire* has been prepared, and is revised and issued periodically. It shows the resources of every dependency—financial position, exports and imports, markets, and the proportion of its total revenue devoted to each of the public services. To direct and stimulate agricultural production and to ensure efficient marketing of the products, the requirements of the world's markets are studied by deputed officers of the agriculture and forest services. Research work is being done in various parts of the Empire in order to ensure the production of the kind and quality of goods required in the world's markets. Co-operative associations of local producers are organised by the Governments and measures devised for bringing all expert material to such a standard as will obtain and retain markets. The conditions of industrial development and the effect of such development on the economic life of primitive and agricultural races are being carefully studied.

There has been similar progress in the study of public health and its co-ordination with economic advance. The bearing of endemic disease on labour supply, and the physique of a race on its economic and social progress is fully realised. Attention is concentrated on preventive measures, undertaken in co-operation with other departments. The economic opening up of an area may require its previous liberation from malarial conditions. The industrialisation of an agricultural area may involve health and sanitation measures to guard against the dangers implicit in the new mode of

life. Dietetic study in tropical Africa has revealed a need for closer co-operation between the health experts concerned with the nutrition value of local crops and the agricultural experts whose business it is to advise as to the crops to be grown, to see that a proper balance is maintained between food crops and cash crops, and to stimulate and assist the production of crops that have a special economic or nutritive value. The Secretary of State has recently asked that co-operative study on these lines should be undertaken, and that results of such study should be broadcast through schools and colleges.

Bearing in mind the educational implications of all this co-ordinating work, the Advisory Committee on Education, in its 1935 Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, urged close collaboration between the different agencies responsible for public health, agriculture, and the schools. It emphasised the need for adult education, in which all the social service departments participate, the expert work of these departments being not only brought into play, but also explained and placed in proper perspective. In hygiene it is not enough for the school to teach rules of health or inculcate sound habits. It must explain the need and methods of sanitary measures undertaken by the health department. Similarly, it must explain the method and use of farm demonstrations and help in the marketing of crops given by the agricultural experts and the plans for more hygienic housing produced by the health and public works departments.

In its memoranda on higher education, the Committee has emphasised not only the training of the more able native to take his part in the economic and social progress of his country, but also the need for relating the nature of this training and the number of its beneficiaries to schemes for economic and social development. There have been instances of over-production of workers for highly specialised crafts or professions. Specialised training is often said to be more "useful" than a more general form of education. But it ceases to be useful and becomes dangerous when it results in unemployment of laboriously acquired skill.

The Kenya Expenditure Advisory Committee, 1933, was impressed "by the absence of any province-wide or colony-wide plan of development activities embracing all departments." The Advisory Committee on Education, in its memorandum on community education, suggested that a co-ordinated programme of social betterment called for some new type of organisation, leaving it to the governments to decide whether this should take the form of periodic conferences of heads of social service departments, or community welfare councils, or something more central and highly organised. There is reason to believe that plans of the suggested kind are now being prepared in some dependencies. Certainly, many of the educational schemes in being and progress have been devised and are now being worked in co-operation with the other social service departments. A good example is the new type of Jeanes training centre, described on pages 120-6.

It is on the financial side that a co-ordinated survey is most conspicuously lacking at present. There are few, if any, dependencies in which the percentage of revenue that should be devoted to the social services, or the allotment of available funds among the various social services, or the comparative claims of social and economic development, have been systematically investigated. Some materials for such a survey are contained in the financial portion of the *Economic Survey of the Colonies* to which a reference has already been made. Until more work has been done on those figures, and until the allotment of funds is based on a more comprehensive and co-operative survey, it is difficult to prepare a long-term programme of development that will deal fairly with each form of social service, secure well-balanced progress, and prevent one kind of social service on which funds have been lavished being rendered useless by parsimonious treatment of other forms. This is a question to which the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies has for some time been devoting special attention. It is hoped that comprehensive surveys on lines recommended by the Committee may soon be undertaken.

## APPENDIX B

### HOME RECRUITMENT FOR COLONIAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS

THE Advisory Committee, in its 1925 statement on education in tropical Africa, insisted on the creation of a European educational staff of carefully picked men, who in qualifications, status, and pay should be equivalent to the administrative section of the Civil Service. This recommendation has not been ignored. The administrative service of British Tropical Africa is regarded now as one of the first services in the Empire, comparable in prospects and qualifications to the Indian Civil Service. The scale of pay for the first fifteen years of service in the education departments is based on that of the administrative services, and candidates are carefully chosen in the same way, not by examination, but on school and university results and rewards. After selection those who have not had the required school experience undergo a year's probationary course at the London University Institute of Education, which is gradually becoming a centre of colonial education research. The course includes most of the London University Education Diploma course, with additional courses in anthropology, primitive psychology, and the phonetics of the African language group concerned. During their subsequent leaves arrangements are made for courses of special study.

What has been said of the African services is applicable

also to the large European education staffs of the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, and Hong Kong. Ceylon is now dependent mainly on local recruitment, which provides an adequate supply of well-qualified candidates. In the other dependencies the personnel recruited from the United Kingdom is small. Rates of pay vary considerably, and are not always as favourable as they ought to be. But the colonial education service is in process of unification, and transfer or promotion from the less favoured to the more remunerative dependencies is becoming more common.

If the education service is not on the whole so attractive as the administrative services, this must be ascribed not to inferiority in the scale of pay, anyhow in the early stages of service, but partly to the fact that educational work throughout the Empire seems to lack the prestige accorded to administrative work, and partly to the fact that the prizes in the later stages of administrative service are more numerous, remunerative, and valued than the prizes in the sphere of education. Administrative officers sometimes become heads of education departments. Education officers do not become colonial secretaries or governors. The schoolmaster or college professor lacks, indeed, the experience for such posts. The same cannot be said of education administrators. Now that the work of all the social services is being co-ordinated, the education administrator is no longer isolated, and can acquire the breadth of view that governors and colonial secretaries need.

## APPENDIX C

### AMERICAN VIEWS OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF OUR COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICY

IN frequent discussion of colonial problems with American educationists in Yale University, Honolulu, and elsewhere, I have noted some surprise at our deliberate encouragement of local cultures and languages, and at our apparent failure to recognise the unifying value of the English language and of English political and cultural traditions.

The American nation has not only marched westward to the Pacific. It has absorbed, within the last century, a greater variety of races than any other nation in history. The task of unification has been imposed on it, and perhaps the most important agency in this work has been the school. This work has been done so effectively, and apparently with such a marked absence of racial bitterness, that there is perhaps a tendency in the American educator to under-estimate the difficulties and dangers of the unifying process in areas where the pattern of "good American citizenship" is not so clearly set out, as it is in America or Hawaii, by families and communities leading instinctively, by tradition and not as a result of school training, the life of the good American citizen. This is not meant by way of criticism. It will be interesting to see whether technique which is appropriate in Hawaii will be effective, for instance, in American Samoa, where one particular

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pattern of non-American life seems to be more predominant than any one racial pattern is able to be in Hawaii. It is not for us, who are not Americans, to suggest that it will not be as effective. But we may be permitted to feel that in areas for which we are responsible unification on the same lines may perhaps be more difficult.

Unification in America has not been a steam-roller process. Distinctive racial cultures and modes of life have not been flattened out. There is evidence to the contrary, not only in the rich variety of life to be found in Hawaii, or on the American mainland, but also in the manifest desire of American administrators to preserve this variety. What they oppose is artificial preservation of variety when it is contrary to economic or political unity. This accounts for their insistence on English as the sole medium of instruction.

Recent events in Palestine have drawn attention to the fissiparous effect of secondary education conveyed through two non-English media of instruction. Distinctive school systems organised on a racial basis in areas such as Fiji, Malaya, or Kenya, raise questions which are difficult to answer, and lay us open to the charge, plausible though unjust, that our policy is: "Divide et impera." It is useful to see ourselves as others see us.

Another feature of our policy that excites interest and surprise in American circles is our readiness to incorporate private education agencies, more particularly religious agencies, in officially recognised and controlled school systems.

Isolation of religion and fear of anything which may entangle the State in sectarian strife seem to find expression in the American constitution, the spirit of which pervades American educational thought. The dissociation of private enterprise from the State system of education seems also in the spirit of the constitution. A democracy depends for its safety on education, which is consequently too important an instrument to be provided or developed by any agency other than the State. Other agencies may be at work. They cannot co-operate with the State, if such co-operation involves any sharing of responsibility.

There is no trace of this feeling at present in those responsible for our colonial education policy. The co-operation of Church and State at home as well as overseas is characteristically English. That such co-operation involves sharing of responsibility might, however, be questioned. Ultimately, the Government must be responsible for the standard and general aims, as well as for the provision, of education in its area. The conviction is gaining strength that the standard of efficiency in private schools must be brought up to the level of the government schools, where it has not reached that level. The distribution of the increased expenditure involved thereby between the Government and the private agencies is a subject for local inquiry and negotiation.

## APPENDIX D

### THE DOMINIONS AND THEIR MANDATED AREAS

So far there has been no joint discussion of tropical education or racial contact problems between those responsible for colonial education policy and authorities in the Dominions of New Zealand and Australia. As the University of London Institute develops into a centre of imperial studies, students from the Dominions are beginning to meet there those who are engaged in colonial work; no doubt there will be a steady increase in facilities for joint studies. The international education conferences, which are being encouraged by the Carnegie Corporation, U.S.A., provide a meeting-place for Dominion and colonial workers.

At the Honolulu Conference, 1936, it was found that New Zealand,<sup>1</sup> in its Maori and Samoan work, was proceeding on lines that had much in common with what is advocated by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, and that Australian anthropologists and sociologists were following similar lines in Papua, and would like to see them followed in New Guinea and among the Australian aborigines.

At the same conference, and similar conferences elsewhere, South African educationists have had opportunities of discussing their native education problems with colonial representatives. Canada, in its Indian

<sup>1</sup> For employment of New Zealand education officers in Fiji, see p. 230.

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education, is more closely in touch with the United States than with other parts of the British Empire. There is indeed no other part of the Empire in which the special problems of the American Indian are found..

PART III  
EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND METHODS  
IN SELECTED DEPENDENCIES

# I

## BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA

### (a) SETTING AND BACKGROUND

AFRICA is in size equal to China, India, Europe, and half Australia. Its population is only one-third of that of Asia. Ninety-four per cent of Africa is controlled by European Powers. British Africa covers one-third of the continent, or 4,000,000 square miles, containing 55,000,000 inhabitants out of Africa's estimated population of 130,000,000. French Africa is larger, but its population is only one-quarter that of British Africa. The remaining responsible European Powers are Belgium, Portugal, Italy, and Spain. We are concerned here only with the British Tropical African dependencies controlled by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with the South African High Commission Territories, which are controlled by the Secretary of State for the Dominions. The area under survey exceeds that of India, Burma, and continental Europe without Russia. One of the dependencies, Nigeria, is the size of France and Germany combined, but has a population of only 20,000,000. The population of the African dependencies exceeds 42,000,000, and their area is about 2,000,000 square miles. The total population of the African and non-African dependencies controlled by the Secretary of State for the Colonies is approximately 57,000,000.

We may note first that tropical Africa, under more

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favourable conditions such as are likely to prevail in coming years, could support a far larger population than it contains at present; five to six times as large, according to estimates based on statistics of other more highly developed countries.

If science continues to advance, and if the medical officers, the engineers, the transport agencies, and the pioneers of industry and agriculture are given scope to apply its results, if forests and swamps give place to cultivable land, if the mosquito and tsetse fly are exterminated, if the high death-rate is diminished, we may expect a startling increase in population during the next fifty years. There has been for some time a steady increase in population in the economically prosperous areas and where health conditions have been improved.

Next we must note the surprisingly rapid commercial development and opening up of Africa in the last fifty years. Fifty years ago the value of annual exports from the whole of Africa was about £30,000,000; in 1930 it was £260,000,000. Since 1885 a continent has been added to the sources of supply of raw material and to the world markets. The value of Gold Coast exported cocoa was £80 in 1881; in 1919 it supplied half the world's demand for cocoa. Its exports increased by 360 per cent in 1918-19. Between 1910 and 1919 Nigerian exports grew from 5½ million pounds to 15 millions. But unfortunately, there is no assured continuity of progress. In the fatal year, 1931, the value of cocoa exports from the Colonial Empire fell from over £70,000,000, to under £40,000,000, and in oil

seeds and vegetable oils from over £100,000,000 to £65,000,000. African dependence on world prices is a bar to continuity of social service development, at any rate until effective financial reserves have been built up.

Moreover, despite this rapid development, the actual as compared with the potential wealth of British Tropical Africa is still small in comparison with that of many other tropical countries. In 1935 its imports and domestic exports per head of population were only 16s. 8d. and 19s. 5d., as compared with £5 12s and £11 14s. 5d. in the Federated Malay States, and with £3 17s. 1d. and £2 3s. 5d. in the colonial dependencies as a whole. Its revenue per head is 7s. 8d., as compared with £3 10s. 10d. in the Federated Malay States, and 18s. 4d. in the Colonial Empire.

We shall have to bear this in mind when we compare the extent of education in British Tropical Africa with its growth in other tropical countries. Rapid advance is impossible in countries with a relatively small revenue, though present poverty need not prevent the establishment of sure foundations. In the less developed countries the social services, including education, often receive a smaller proportion of expenditure because peace, order, and security must first be established; bridges and roads must be built, and the foundations of material progress laid. In wealthier countries, even if a larger percentage of the revenue is not available for education, a similar, or even smaller, percentage will allow a larger educational expenditure per head of population.

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Turning to the geographical characteristics of our area, we notice the difficulty of access for the white races before modern science came to their aid; few harbours, an unhealthy coast-line separated by dense forests from the central plateaux, which are intersected by forest-fringed rivers. Except on the coast, economic development prior to the advance of science in the nineteenth century was impossible. The increased world demand for actual and potential products, combined with the transport facilities and the health measures provided by science, have exposed Africa to the world.

Tropical Africa's recorded history is one of external influence. In prehistoric times there was constant migration inside Africa and a steady pressure of peoples from north-east Africa and the Asiatic side of Suez in a south and south-westward direction. External influence began with the penetration of the interior by private traders, mainly Asiatic and Mohammedan, from the east and north coasts. Commercially, culturally, and in religion, they left their mark on Africa. Slavery was not a European importation. European influence begins with the Portuguese traders and missionaries in 1450. By the middle of the sixteenth century the British were engaged in the West Indian slave trade. They were followed by the Dutch, French, Danes, Germans, and Spaniards. The period from 1600 to 1800 marks a gradual transition from private trading enterprise to chartered companies. Towards the close of that period white traders were making their

way inland. With the ending of the British slave trade in 1807 came the beginning of British Government responsibility and the foundation of its first African colony, Sierra Leone. During the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, in the Gold Coast, along the Nigerian coast, and little by little in the hinterland of West Africa, the British Government passed almost imperceptibly from recognition of trading companies to their protection, from protection to control, and from the control to the elimination of trading companies as administrative agents. The Christian missions began and steadily extended their work as pioneers of education. The period ends with the opening up of Central Africa by Speke, Livingstone, Stanley and others.

From 1885 European influence expanded with the same rapidity as trade and commerce. The Congress of Berlin in that year inaugurated the European partition of tropical Africa and recognition of spheres of influence. Gradually, European nations passed from being mere exploiting agencies to the assumption of what was almost trusteeship for the native races. Up to 1900 this process was confined to the west coast; from 1900 to 1914 protectorates were taking the place of chartered companies in East and Central Africa, the European Powers were consolidating and securing their position in West Africa, the ground was being prepared for economic development by roads and railways, and responsibility for education was gradually transferred from the missions to the Government. By the outbreak

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of the Great War tropical Africa had come fully into contact with the outside world.

Since the War there has been a quickening of the sense of responsibility for the moral and social progress as well as for the economic and material advancement of our tropical African territories, including those mandated under the League of Nations. The British Government had not been, even before the War, indifferent to the welfare of the native races. The charters which they gave to the various companies usually included provision safeguarding native interests. When the South African territories were freed from Colonial Office control after the Boer War, uncertainty regarding the attitude of South Africa to the native races was a factor in the decision to keep Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland Protectorate for the time being under the home Government.

The mandate principle accepted after the War by European nations, and included in the terms of the mandates held under the League of Nations, undoubtedly emphasised this responsibility. The tutelage of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, experience or geographical position, can best undertake the responsibility. The establishment of greater security, the extension of peace and order, and the growth of revenues through the development of world trade created conditions favourable for the exercise of such responsibility. It had also become clear that the economic development of tropical Africa

depended not only on roads, bridges, and the application of modern science, but also on the increased intelligence and acquired skill of the native peoples.

But it was not until 1923 that constructive thought was brought to bear on education.

We have described in Part II the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa.

The Committee's first work was to produce, in 1925, a statement of educational policy. The statement was accepted by the Secretary of State. The principles established in that statement and developed in subsequent memoranda have been summarised in Part II above. They are generally recognised in British Tropical Africa to-day. It is too early yet to know whether the 1925 statement will play as important a part in the educational history of our African dependencies as Macaulay's Minute has played in British India. We shall be able better to appreciate its significance if we compare briefly the conditions prevailing in 1835, when we began our educational work in India, with those prevailing in 1925, when the Advisory Committee set the course for tropical Africa.

In 1835 there was no international recognition of trusteeship for the less advanced races. Ever since the days of Burke British statesmen had been prepared to admit that Britain was a trustee for Indian welfare, and certainly this was not left out of account by Macaulay and Bentinck. But they did not feel, and had, in fact, no grounds for feeling, that the eyes of other nations

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were on them, or that they were embarking on a task in which a large part of the western world was interested. Though they were fully aware of the serious nature of their project and of its far-reaching consequences for England and India, they could not profit from the experience of other nations in a similar field. There was no fear of being left behind by others, no anxiety to show the world their fitness for their task.

Macaulay and his colleagues had not at their disposal the large mass of information now available for those who considered African problems in 1925. They were pioneers in an uncharted country. Macaulay's ignorance of Indian culture and civilisation is manifest throughout his Minute. There was in 1925 no excuse for such ignorance in regard to Africa. We had the recorded information and advice of administrators such as Lord Lugard and Sir Harry Johnston, the reports of the Phelps Stokes Education Commissions, of the parliamentary and other commissions that have investigated social and economic conditions in various areas. We had the results of anthropological, linguistic, socio-logical, and economic research originating in such bodies as the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, the Royal African Society, the Institute of International Affairs, the Empire Marketing Board,<sup>1</sup> and the staffs of the London Schools of Oriental Studies and of Economics.

It is, perhaps, this greater wealth of information,

<sup>1</sup> Now extinct, but responsible, during its existence, for valuable research and information.

combined with bitter experience of failure elsewhere in the past, that emphasised a need for caution which was certainly not felt in the India of 1835. The importance of sound foundations and of paying more attention to quality than quantity at the outset was more fully realised. Problems of race and colour, which were ignored in 1835, were recognised as requiring prolonged and careful survey at every stage.

More particularly, the disintegrating effects of western civilisation on other forms of culture and civilisation had become painfully apparent since 1835. Contact between varying racial cultures becomes more emphatic and is established more suddenly as the world contracts. It has been said that Africa accomplished in fifty years a transition that took five centuries in Europe. This creates a need for constructive work which will develop in the area of contact a social structure on conservative and yet progressive lines instead of leaving complete wreckage as a result of western influence.

Again there was in 1925 an atmosphere of humility among the western peoples which was completely lacking in those who in 1835 thought that India could be saved by becoming European. Our present humility is due to a wider knowledge of the ancient cultures of the East, to a growing recognition of social and economic evils in the western world, and to the shattering effect of the Great War. This attitude is far more common among the Anglo-Saxon races than among the Latin. It finds expression on the cultural rather than

on the scientific side. The potential value of western science in the economic development of Africa is never questioned. But grave doubts are felt as to whether this economic development is really in Africa's interests. And still more doubt is felt as to the value of western literature, history, philosophy, and politics for Africa. Humility is a good thing, but tiresome when it is exaggerated. Undoubtedly, many of our Uriah Heeps fail to distinguish what is superficial in western culture from its foundations and fundamental values.

Apart from this critical attitude towards western civilisation, there was a growing interest in primitive culture and sociology. This interest is partly anthropological and partly aesthetic. Anthropology is a growth of the nineteenth century, and Macaulay was not interested in any kind of civilisation of a non-European kind. There is, of course, a real danger in letting the anthropologist decide any questions of educational policy. He is concerned with things as they are, how they have come into being, and how they are likely to develop, and not with things as they ought to be. The Africans do not like being treated as a specimen in a glass case. Educationally, it is undesirable to regard any particular status as picturesque and therefore to be preserved.

Lastly, since 1835 there had been a complete revolution in the educational thought, aims, and methods of the western world. The centre of interest had been transferred from the subject or the curriculum to the mind of the child. That mind is no longer regarded

as a clean sheet on which anyone may write, or as an empty vessel waiting for information to be poured in. The business of education is to give every child in relation to its environment an opportunity for full development of its powers, which will enable it not merely to respond to, but also improve, the conditions under which it is brought up. Furthermore, the connection between the individual and the community of which he is a member is regarded as a prime factor in the process of education. The group cannot be considered apart from the individual. The individual is constantly being affected by surroundings which he is also capable of modifying.

We have still to consider, before we examine our education policy in tropical Africa, the nature of the African social structure which sociological and anthropological research has revealed to those who are responsible for its development. It is dangerous to generalise, owing to the immense variety of type found in this vast area, from the well-educated families of the west coast, who have been advancing for a century on more or less European lines and now provide material for bishops, secretaries to Government, educational leaders like Aggrey of Achimota, members of legislative councils, doctors and lawyers, commercial magnates, down to the pygmies of the central forests, or the bushmen still in the nomadic or hunting stage, and among the most primitive races of mankind. One has also to remember that members of the same race are developing quite differently in relation to their

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environment. Between the still tribal and the completely detribalised Bantu of Africa there is already a marked difference. Moreover, there is often a great difference between tribes of the same area. For instance, in Nigeria, where women as a rule do most of the agricultural work, there is a tribe where women eschew agriculture altogether and are the traders of the community. Caution is also necessitated by the blending of racial traits by intermarriage and migration, through Islamic influence and through linguistic penetration. There is, for instance, already a gulf between the Swahili-speaking Bantu races and the non-Swahili.

We may note, however, a few widely accepted generalisations of educational significance regarding two main types of African with whom the educationist is at present mainly concerned—the negro type of West Africa, often called the pure negro type, though races such as the Fulani and Hausa show a strong Hamitic strain, and the negroid races of East Africa, the Bantu, in which the Hamitic and negro characteristics are blended. Regarding the characteristics of these negro and Bantu races, as found in areas where urban and European influence has not been at work, a few general remarks of considerable educational significance are permissible.

For social, cultural, and political purposes these races are organised on tribal lines—the tribe being regarded as a unit with a common leader, common language, and common customs. The size of the unit varies

greatly. Often several tribes, each with a chief, are united under a paramount chief or king. On the other hand, within a tribe there are often distinctive groups with tribal characteristics. The administrative cohesion of each group, tribe, or collection of tribes, depends mainly on the personality and vigour of the chief or paramount chief. Often the cultural, social, and religious functions of the chief survive when he has lost all political power. But whatever his functions, they are exercised by him as representative of the spirit, as it were, of the tribe. It is the tribe which is sacred and endowed with continuous life. The chief is its personification. He is never an arbitrary dictator, and he always has a council of elders.

Among the educationally significant features of tribal life are the following: communal ownership of land; a system of barter instead of money transactions; exclusiveness in relation to other tribes—and, within the self-contained village community, the marked subordination of the individual to the customs and traditions of the community. These customs and traditions are dynamic, not static. There is continuous growth and development, but such growth is the result of communal, rather than individual, action, and the community is not conscious of it. Solidarity is the keynote. But where outside contact is established solidarity and tradition have been unable to resist such gradual change as, for instance, from communal land tenure to individual ownership, the growing use of money, or the importation of domestic instruments,

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such as tin boxes, metal dishes, or woollen blankets, whose utility in tribal life has been proved. Similarly, a change in diet is noticeable: the ignorant or superstitious rejection of eggs, game, and fish is abandoned; tinned meats are imported, as the use of these articles in the strengthening of tribal life is gradually proved.

The African has always been a skilful and persistent borrower, capable of absorbing into his tribal life whatever makes for its strength and continuity. From Asiatic conquerors and immigrants in the past, as more recently from the western world, he has taken what suited his purpose. We know for certain of no crop that he learned for himself to cultivate, no animal that he domesticated on his own initiative for his own use. There are no traces of any indigenous African script. All this and much besides has been borrowed from outside, but successfully assimilated and adapted to local needs. When to such susceptibility and receptiveness are added a gift for self-expression and an emotional attitude to life, we have what is called the artistic temperament. Such is the African temperament as it appears to-day. Whether it will resist modification by contacts and education is doubtful. That it makes the acquisition of more practical gifts, administrative, commercial, or political, impossible cannot be maintained. But the educationist, while admitting the probability of change, has to take these factors into account at present. They are perhaps what one would expect to find in all primitive peoples.

This may certainly be said of the characteristic tendency of the African to surrender himself to the feelings and will of a crowd. As in other primitive races premeditated crime is rare. But fear is often responsible for action that crafty selfishness inspires in more advanced races. Witchcraft and protective measures play a large part in his life. Ignorance and faulty diet make him vulnerable to disease. Traditions of inter-tribal warfare have made him wary and conscious of the protective power of his tribe. Slavery removed him from tribal contact and protection, but did nothing to encourage sturdy independence and individualism.

His religion is essentially sacramental. Life is a unity. Spiritual and material are closely interwoven. He is not illogical, but his conclusions are based on faulty premisses. Religion and science are not distinguished. Power is what he aims at. Very gradually, with growing control over his immediate surroundings, the sphere of religion, of mysterious power which can be propitiated, but is not understood, is restricted, and the sphere in which events can be foreseen and controlled is extended. Blind fear plays a less important part. Such religion has little to do with moral principles, if by that we mean conduct of one individual towards another. But it is ethical in so far as it covers and controls the relations of the individual to the community. Tribal life comes to be revered as continuous and necessary. "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus." There is a social rhythm, a pattern of communal life in which, as in the tribal dance, every member plays

his part as a religious function. Lastly, tribal life involves a tribal system of education. The western races are not "introducing education" into Africa. Our task is rather the modification of a system, time-honoured, elaborate and constantly developing, which existed long before white men entered Africa.

There are some who maintain that the African, who in his present state is so different from the normal member of the Anglo-Saxon races, demands fundamentally a different "type of education." Whether such theorists refer to the aims or the method, the form or the content of education, is seldom explained. There are others who maintain what may be called the solidarity of the human race, and who urge that the African to-day is passing through a stage that the western races passed through centuries ago. Potentially, they are capable of receiving the best that the more advanced races can offer them, though what is offered must be restricted to what at present they are capable of receiving, and it must be conveyed by methods adapted to environment, tradition, and stage of growth.

Those who, like the writer, incline to the latter view may be unwilling to dogmatise as to how much eventually the African will be capable of receiving out of what we value most in our Western life. For the theory that a totally different system of values, education with a wholly different content, is required they find no foundation in facts. All education is based on assumption; and the only possible ethical assumption to

African education is that we must offer in a manner adapted to African needs the best that we can offer, and leave Africa to absorb as much as it is able and willing to absorb. Only we must be sure that we are offering what underlies and supports our western civilisation, not merely the scum that lies on its surface.

Interesting attempts have been made to estimate scientifically the educational capability of the African. So far physiological investigation of brain structure and psychological tests of capacity have produced no results on which scientific conclusions can be based. It is possible that they may bring to light facts that may influence methods and forms of education. They cannot well affect the assumption on which our statement of aims is based.

In addition to such research efforts have been made to draw conclusions from cultural achievements up to date. How dangerous this is can be realised if we think of the Teutonic or British tribes as they appeared to Caesar and Tacitus and compare their estimates with the actual achievements of these races since then. It is true that so far the African has been a borrower rather than originator, that he has no indigenous script, no literature, no recorded history, and very little political organisation beyond the loose structure of the tribe. Against this may be set his creative and artistic force as shown in the woodwork and sculpture of West Africa and in the brasswork of Benin. The native kingdoms of Uganda show considerable traces of organisation. Men like Aggrey and Bishop Crowther

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have shown what education can make of an African. Speaking generally, we cannot claim that the African so far has made any substantial contribution to the world's culture and progress. But there are no grounds for attributing this to inherent incapacity rather than to his history and to geographical conditions by which his history was determined up to the time when western science and the urge of western industry and commerce began to alter these conditions. Educational experience so far in tropical Africa has not disproved the African's potential capacity for receiving the best that we can offer.

So far we have had in mind conditions that obtain generally throughout tropical Africa. We must turn now to the peculiar problems of East and Central Africa which are perplexing factors in the educational situation of those areas.

The climate and conditions of life in many parts of East and Central Africa are suited to Europeans; those of West Africa are not. In West Africa there are two Europeans in every 10,000, in East Africa thirty-three, and the number is growing. In Kenya alone there are about 16,000 European settlers, with a considerable Asiatic population, which brings the non-African element in that colony to twenty-four per thousand. The development of mines and railways in Northern Rhodesia has brought the number of Europeans in recent years up to 11,500, or eight per thousand of the total population.

The Europeans temporarily resident in West Africa

are engaged mainly in official, mercantile or philanthropic work, though there has been recent development of mining industries. They are dealing on the coast with a native population containing a considerable proportion of enlightened members, and education has made considerable progress. In East Africa the permanent European settlers require land and labour and are dealing with a far more primitive and educationally backward native population. This population has been brought with amazing rapidity into contact with western industrial and urban conditions. In no other part of the world has there been such intensive and rapid application of scientifically organised industry to primitive regions.

The racial problems arising out of the European demand for land and labour, together with the disintegrating effect of wage-earning industrial life on primitive communities, force on us the question: "For what purpose are we educating the native?" Is our primary aim to provide effective labour for the development of the country's resources under European direction and control? In this case the village communities in the native reserves would be regarded primarily as reservoirs of labour supply for the white man, and education must be so designed as to keep this reservoir intact and its channels of communication with the industrial world open. Or is our aim the training of the native population for the development of his own land and of his native industries? In this case education may legitimately bring the native to a stage when he

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will aim at employing as well as supplying labour and when he will look to other pursuits than those of wage-earning for his advancement. Or is it right and possible to combine both these aims?

The fundamental assumption which we seek is perhaps implied in the term the "dual mandate" which Lord Lugard's work and book have fortunately made familiar. Ever since 1885, and more emphatically since the War, the dual responsibility of the white governments in Africa has been recognised—responsibility both to the world as a whole and to the native races of Africa. Their task is to develop Africa's material resources for the benefit of the whole world and the advancement of the African individual and community for his own benefit as well as ultimately for the benefit of the whole world. Thoughtful people believe that it is not only possible but essential in the interests both of black and white to reconcile those interests as complementary to one another. Aggrey, in selecting as Achimota's crest the black and white keys of the piano, symbolised that co-operation of black and white which he knew to be necessary and possible. But the pessimist will remind us that the keys of the piano, though designed for harmony, are capable of producing discord.

The development for the world's benefit of Africa's resources involves white capital, white direction, and control and conditions of land and labour which will secure a reasonable return for investment as well as reasonable progress in development. But there are

measures professing to promote such development which cannot ethically be justified and which would take the heart out of all educational workers. Among such measures are forced labour (for private enterprise), the raising of native taxation in order to provide an incentive for wage-earning, the insistence by white trade unions of the exclusion of qualified natives from skilled industrial posts, the restriction of natives to certain kinds of cultivation, and their exclusion from particular industries such as coffee- and cotton-growing. A land policy such as was devised in a part of Africa outside our field of survey which resulted in seven per cent of the land being set apart for 4,500,000 natives and ninety-three per cent for just over 2,000,000 Europeans and others invalidates an educational system which aims at training the native to develop the resources of the country for his own good. Improvement of sanitation by the teaching of hygiene is useless if white speculators are allowed to buy up land and raise house-rent beyond the limits possible for native population. The desirability of raising the standard of living cannot safely be emphasised in schools and colleges if wages for those who have been forced out of the native reserves into industrial centres or as squatters on to the estates of white settlers are so low as to make any such rise in standard impossible.

On the other hand, as trustees responsible to the world of industry for the development of the dependencies, the governments must establish conditions suitable for such development. Some of these may seem to the

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native population oppressive. They must see that the best use possible is made of the soil; that mineral resources do not lie in the ground unused; that wasteful methods of agriculture are repressed; that land is not spoilt by the over-stocking of cattle; and that the quality of cattle does not deteriorate by indiscriminate increase in their number, that the efficiency of labour in urban and industrial centres is not weakened by insanitary and unhygienic habits.

His Majesty's Government, in their memorandum on native policy in East Africa, 1930, include the following statement which may be regarded as the charter of our educational work in East Africa:

"Turning now to the economic sphere, His Majesty's Government are of the opinion that the main objective to be kept in view is the improvement of the general condition of the natives by encouraging them to make the most efficient use of their own resources for purposes of production, full regard being had to the principle that the native should be in fact effectively free to work as he may wish, either in his own tribal area, or on his own individual holding of land, or (subject to proper statutory safeguards of the conditions of employment) in labour for wages outside the tribal area. It is evident that a native's freedom to choose his form of work can be real only if land is practically as well as theoretically available, not only for tribal occupancy, but also for ownership, lease or occupation by such natives as

are prepared individually to take up agricultural work on their own account. Moreover, it is part of the duty of the Government to afford active assistance in improving the native methods of cultivation by appropriate training in agriculture (including the keeping of cattle) and by the effective dissemination among the adults of knowledge requisite for this purpose, and in enabling the natives to obtain a fair market for their products, especially by providing adequate means of communication and transport. These and other means of promoting the development of the resources of the territory in native occupancy or use should, in view of the large population concerned, be regarded by the Government as of primary importance.

"It need hardly be said that the policy of the East African governments as regards land should not admit of restrictions on the possession, occupation, or use of land by the natives of such a kind as, in effect, to compel them either directly or indirectly to take service for wages with private employers. It is of great importance that no government officer should take any part in the recruiting of native labour in such a way as to lead to this fundamental policy being misunderstood.

"As regards production, His Majesty's Government consider that the natives must be allowed, subject to any necessary safeguards, in the Native Reserves or on land in individual occupation, to grow such crops and to keep such stock as they think most profitable.

"It is, indeed, a positive duty of the governments to make sure that the native has an effective choice in the way in which he meets his taxes, and every care should be taken to provide that taxation, whether central or local, does not, in its result, actually oblige the native to labour for wages as the only practicable means of obtaining the money wherewith to pay his tax."

It will be seen that His Majesty's Government, far from regarding the interests of black and white as incompatible, believe that the advancement of either race will necessarily bring about the advancement of the other. The report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament on closer union in East Africa, 1931, emphasises the same convictions.

"The principle of trusteeship implies not only the avoidance of direct injustice to the natives as individuals but also the more positive obligation to afford to the natives, as a race, both time and opportunity to develop their latent capacities and play such part as they may eventually prove capable of playing in the ultimate destiny of the country. Every opportunity for advancement should moreover be afforded to such natives as may reach a higher level than is common to their race."

It has been maintained by economists and has been proved by experience that there is a tendency for the white races to fall to the level of the native races with whom they are brought into contact if the white is

artificially protected against wholesome competition with the native and if artificial restrictions are placed on the native's vocational and professional advancement. Sweated black labour reacts on the white and produces the poor white; on the other hand, the desire for a higher standard of living that results from education, and the means of raising the standard provided by reasonable wages, produce a native consumer who can play an important part in the commercial development of the country. The white employer cannot have it both ways; education which produces for him more intelligent and effective labour must also create a state of mind and will which is not content with things as they are, but aims at advancement. On the other hand, measures taken by the Government to secure suitable conditions for the investment of European capital and enterprise will create conditions under which the native population can find profitable and productive use for the skill and intelligence developed in them by education. And the more rapid the progress made by scientifically controlled and officially encouraged industry and commerce the more funds will be available for a type of education that will give the African full scope for development of his capacity.

The report of the Merle Davis Commission in Northern Rhodesia (*The African and Modern Industry*)<sup>1</sup> gives valuable and impartial testimony to the work done by

<sup>1</sup> A need for more vigorous education and social work in the mining area was emphasised in this report and steps are being taken by united mission effort in co-operation with the Government to carry out its recommendations.

the British Government in Northern Rhodesia in holding the scales even for the white and native races and in the establishment of conditions that seem to reconcile the interests of both. Specially valuable is their testimony to the arrangements made in the mines for the welfare of the wage-earning natives. In those mines, as also on the estates of Tanganyika Territory, wage-earners when properly looked after, as is usually the case, become physically and mentally more efficient as the result of their wage-earning spell and are able to save money which goes eventually towards the improvement of trade. There are, of course, many defects not yet surmounted and many problems not yet solved. There are still grievances on both sides. But the Merle Davis report shows what can be done if Europeans controlling industry and agriculture are reasonably enlightened persons with a keen sense of their dual responsibility. It has also to be recognised that there are important labour centres which have disseminated race hatred. Such hatred is likely to extend and become more intense where there is no sympathy between white labour and black labour, and such sympathy will not be real and effective unless it is inspired by knowledge and enlightened by education. The last word on the subject has perhaps been said by Mr. Edwin Smith when he suggests that the best way of making the African an efficient and useful citizen of the British Commonwealth is to make him a worthy citizen of the Kingdom of God. The test of usefulness is not merely the use of the African to the white man, and we cannot

expect the white man to realise this unless he also is a worthy citizen of the same kingdom. It has been well said that one of the beautiful things in life is the bringing of dissentient groups into peaceful co-operation towards common ends which are worth while.

We are now in a position to examine the application to conditions such as have been described above of the general principles emphasised by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies and described in our first chapter. The two reports of the Phelps Stokes Fund Commissions had summarised as follows the chief defects in the attempts made prior to 1921 to deal educationally with these conditions. In the first place educational progress and radical changes in aims and methods outside Africa had been ignored. Secondly, the curricula and methods in use were designed with reference to European rather than African environment and conditions. Thirdly, there had been too much concentration of effort on the individual pupil, too little attention to the life of the community or the individual's place in it. Secondary education, so far as it had gone—and in East Africa it had not been begun—aimed at "the exhibition of knowledge rather than the understanding of the creative forces of life and the control of those forces so as to enable pupils to contribute to the prosperity and happiness of the world."

The following chapters will show how far it has been possible to remove these defects and to adapt our methods to African conditions. But it must be noted here at the outset that in this matter of adaptation to

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environment, there has been in recent years some wavering and considerable confusion of thought; a tendency sometimes in the direction of adaptation; at other times, when emphasis on adaptation has created a suspicion of repression and the keeping back of good things from outside, a plea for assimilation of all that the western world can offer; then a suspicion arises that local conditions are being ignored and adaptation becomes again the watchword.

There would have been perhaps less oscillation and less confusion of thought if a distinction had been emphasised between the methods or technique, which can and must be locally adapted, and aims or values, which admit of no adaptation and must either be taken or left. But no one who has taken part in education conferences will underrate the difficulty of distinguishing the means from the ends of education.

There has also been controversy regarding the supposedly rival claims of vocational and general education, controversy that might have been avoided if it had been remembered that general education is not a rival of specialised training, but its necessary basis; that while every child must be educated so as to play a useful part in the life of his community the number of posts for which highly specialised training is needed is limited; and that the amount of time available for any specialised training in the short course of general education available for the masses is also limited. At times the extreme advocates of vocational training have created an undesirable impression that education is

concerned with wealth rather than with men and women. They have ignored that change of environment which is constantly in process and the possibility of education pointing not only to the environment but also beyond it. The African must be considered as a consumer, not merely as a producer. Social service to the community must not be left out of account. Desire and capacity for a fuller life must be developed. The means of livelihood must not get more attention than the art of living. The conception of a life inspired by joyful and intelligent interest in the realities and possibilities of domestic, tribal, and national life must be sustained. Otherwise the African might become chained to his past instead of becoming alive to the world about him, and adjusting himself and his prejudices to the facts and possibilities of that world.

Finally, it may be said that those who are thinking out these problems for British Tropical Africa as a whole agree with Dr. Westerman as to the inevitable risk attending all our educational efforts. "Whenever the African comes into contact with the European he is inclined to part with what is most real in his own life and to take on what is material and therefore superficial in the life of the European." It is incumbent on us in our schools to emphasise what is fundamentally real and valuable in African life and to develop it in the light of what is fundamentally valuable in western civilisation. Our task is to consider not so much systems of education as values which are implicit in them.

## (b) EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

There are agencies at work in Africa with no direct educational commission, and conscious of no educational aim, which play an important part in the moulding of the African peoples.

There is the immense force of indigenous tradition and custom at work in tribal life. Of this we have said something and there will be much more to say in our next section.

There is also the influence of government officers. The education department has no monopoly. Whichever the medical, agricultural, public works, or administrative officer goes, he brings the African tribe into contact with a wholly new world—how new and how educative it is hard for more sophisticated people to realise. It may take, for instance, some time for the primitive African to understand and believe that the taxes which he brings to the revenue officer are not intended for that officer's private use. The educational effect of an experimental farm or medical station cannot be over-estimated.

Last but not least is the influence of the white settler, merchant or traveller—of every white man, in fact, with whom the African comes into contact. The African's powers of observation and assimilation are exceptional. For good or bad the values and general outlook of the white men influence and often dominate the contiguous African world. What primitive Africa seeks is power. The white man, whether respected or not, is associated

with power. To get it he will copy what the white man does and unconsciously adopt his attitude. Our task is to help Africa to see and understand what is best in our life and civilisation and to ignore or take at its proper value what disfigures it. But we cannot do this in school or college if outside it the white man exemplifies what the teacher repudiates.

Coming to the direct agencies, we take the government education departments first, not because they are in quantity or quality the most important, but because the governments very properly have taken on themselves in recent years responsibility for the direction and control of education policy. The mode of recruitment and the qualifications required for these departments have been described already. In considering their extent and scope we must remember financial limitations and the fact that in some areas government control has existed only for a few years. Some of the departments, consequently, are very small, ridiculously so it might seem, in relation to population. They were considerably larger in 1930, but financial depression since 1931 has involved drastic reductions. Nigeria with its population of twenty millions naturally has the largest number of European officers, but the number relative to the population is very small in comparison with the number employed in British Malaya. In all British Tropical Africa, with over forty million inhabitants, there are less than 400 Europeans engaged by the Government in native education.

To this number, of course, must be added a far larger

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number of European missionaries engaged solely or mainly in education work. In Nyasaland almost all the schools are mission schools. There are only three government institutions.

No attempt has yet been made to cover educationally in any dependency the whole area or population. In some areas the portion covered is extremely small. In all, the policy is to lay firm foundations, to make quality the first consideration, and to establish gradually a system of effective centres from which little by little trained men and women can proceed on extensive work.

Attention has already been drawn in the first chapter to the stress laid in British colonial administration on religious foundations for educational work. The position of the Government in tropical Africa is different from that of the British Government in India, which found a policy of strict neutrality imposed on it by the existence in India of ancient religions with fully developed cultures professed by highly educated sections of the population. Communal feeling would never have tolerated any explicit patronage of religious education. As a result, the British Government system of education in India, though it provides financial support for schools maintained by religious bodies, has come to be regarded largely as a secular system. Totally different circumstances in tropical Africa have enabled the Government not only to advocate religious teaching but also to lay special stress on Christian teaching and even to provide teaching distinctively

though not dogmatically Christian in character in some of its own institutions without wounding the feelings or arousing the suspicion of any communities. Of its more cautious attitude towards Islam there is more to be said later. Broadly speaking, we may assume that Christian teaching has been for some time and still is a prime factor in the adaptation of schools and colleges to African needs.

We have also emphasised the extent to which the colonial governments rely on the incorporation of voluntary agencies in their educational work.

It is mainly Christian missions that have responded to this call for co-operation, though we shall refer later to Mohammedan and indigenous African enterprise. These Christian missions have co-operated not only by establishing schools but by expert advice on advisory boards set up by the Government or on publication and language committees and by the supply of experienced men for government work. The first two principals of Achimota College and the first principals of the three first established Jeanes schools<sup>1</sup> have been missionaries. In the formulation of policy the views of the local missions concerned are carefully considered. Roman Catholic and Protestant missions are represented on the Advisory Committee on Education.

As educational agents Christian missions had preceded the British Government in tropical Africa. In 1924, for instance, mission schools were at work in Tanganyika Territory, in Nyasaland, and in Northern

<sup>1</sup> For teacher training, see p. 120.

Rhodesia before any government education department had been organised in any of those areas. It was calculated in 1925 that eighty per cent of the schools in British Tropical Africa were mission schools. In Uganda Christian missions had brought into being without government supervision or aid an education system which formed an effective foundation for government educational work when it started. In West Africa mission education began very early in the nineteenth century. There were mission schools in the Gambia more than a hundred years before a government education department was started there. In Central and East Africa mission schools were established as soon as Livingstone and other explorers opened up the country in 1870-80 and long before chartered companies had given way to the British Government. Abundant evidence may be found in government education reports that the official attitude towards mission agencies is appreciative and encouraging.

The evidence of impartial and well qualified visitors has been equally impressive. Dr. Julian Huxley, for instance, gives high praise to the well-known mission secondary school at Budo in Uganda, which he considered the most efficient institution visited by him during a tour of East Africa.

The missions, on their side, are fully alive to the need for maintaining a high educational standard as a condition of effective co-operation. To keep them in touch with government requirements and to act as liaison officer between the Protestant missions of East Africa

and the government education departments Mr. Dougall, the first principal of the Jeanes School, Kenya, was appointed as representative of the Protestant missions of East Africa and in that office did work whose usefulness has been recognised by all the education departments with which he came into contact. Educational missionaries now receive careful training for African work, the Roman Catholics in two home training colleges and the Protestants in a joint mission institution at Selly Oak. Both courses are recognised and controlled by the Secretary of State. Many missionaries also attend the course for government educational probationers at the London University Institute of Education. Keen attention is being paid to the anthropological and sociological training of missionaries. Special courses are arranged by the British Social Hygiene Council for missionaries, and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, which owes its origin partly to mission influence and is supported partly from mission contributions, renders valuable assistance for their anthropological research training. The contribution to the study of African languages made by missionaries has frequently been recognised by the Government and by the International Institute.

In these days when the relations of the school to the community are receiving special attention the normal organisation of mission work is being found easily adaptable to community work. A central mission station often includes a hospital and a dispensary,

agricultural work for demonstration and sometimes experimental purposes, the beginnings of a co-operative society and opportunities for training in simple building and carpentry which can be linked up with the work of the station school.

It cannot, of course, be denied that difficult problems are created by this co-operation between the Government and Christian missions. In spheres of Mohammedan influence, more particularly in the Emirates of Northern Nigeria and in Zanzibar where Islam is the recognised and established faith of the rulers who have been brought under British control, special caution has been needed and in fact exercised both by Government and by missions. In Northern Nigeria missions were not allowed at the outset of our rule to establish permanent stations or schools. Lord Lugard anticipated the gradual recognition by Emirs of the social and educational influence of the missions if they were not imposed upon them. His forecast has been justified and gradually, and with the consent of the Emirs, mission educational work has expanded. Though religious instruction is given in some government schools, and though much stress is laid on the religious work of voluntary agencies, a conscience clause is always inserted in the educational code where local circumstances require it.

Another difficulty, felt mainly in East Africa, is a growing feeling among tribal leaders that mission schools do not meet all their needs. This is strongest in areas where missions have felt bound, on humanitarian rather than religious grounds, to oppose certain

tribal customs. In some areas there is undoubtedly a growing feeling in favour of government schools, which are believed to be more efficient and with superior prestige, or in favour of schools maintained by native administrations and under the joint control of these administrations and the education department. In our next section we shall see how their difficulty is met by the Advisory Committee's policy for the development of local education authorities. Here it is only necessary to add that some missions are showing a real desire to understand tribal feeling and to co-operate with tribal chiefs.

We come now to the fourth agency in African education, the educated African community. The white man plans for Africa, and he is bound to do so. But it is useless and dangerous for him to plan too far ahead. Africa must eventually work out her own salvation. Our business is essentially to offer our best and to train Africa to make a wise choice. Already we have shown that there exists a tribal system of education. In the next chapter we shall see how this can be taken into account and how African thought and feeling can be made to give colour to a system of local education authorities. Elsewhere we shall see how Africans are being trained for government service posts, educational and otherwise, in which they can play an important part in Africa's education. Here we need only consider what part Africans are taking, outside government service and local education authorities. Let us remember first that it is mainly through the missions

that Africans have been initiated into direct and systematised educational work. It is the Christian, not the Mohammedan or pagan African who is thus emerging. In the Christian Church the African "finds free or unfettered expression of his personality." Already, particularly in Uganda and elsewhere in urban centres, cohesive self-supporting and organised African school management committees are coming into existence. The Christian population of tropical Africa is still relatively small, in Uganda about 800,000 in three and a half million, in Nigeria about 863,000 in twenty millions, in the Gold Coast about 320,000 in three millions, in Kenya about 222,000 in nearly three million. But this community contains the African men and women who are going to help in the shaping of Africa's future. Outside government service they are already taking over the management of secondary and elementary schools established by the missions but maintained largely from African fees and subscriptions. In West Africa large and important schools have been established and are being maintained and controlled by African committees not connected with any mission. On the advisory education board set up by every Government African representation is insisted on by the Secretary of State, where competent Africans are available. And it is in the Christian community that the Government usually finds representatives.

But educated Africa's efforts are not always made under Christian influence. In the local Press and clubs and societies of West Africa there are increasing signs

of political activity, inspired sometimes, unfortunately, by movements in these parts of Africa and the world at large where social antagonism and bitter feeling have more justification than they have in West Africa. It is not because they are opposed to political advance, but because they believe that such advance depends on the proof of African fitness for social service, that wise observers regret the concentration of energy on political and racial issues.

An example of more profitable activity is given by this extract from a recent report on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory.

"Another event of outstanding importance during the year, both for its effect on the natives generally and for the part which the Native Authorities took in it, was an Agricultural and Trade Exhibition held at Mwanza, the capital of the Lake Province, on the 8th, 9th and 10th of August. Since 1931, when the first District Agricultural Show was held at Maswa, shows have been held annually at the headquarters of several of the Districts of the Lake Province. The success of these District Shows, their popularity with the natives and their beneficial effect on native agriculture gave rise to the conception of a Provincial Show which should consist not only of exhibits of native products, but also of an exhibition of imported goods to stimulate trade and production. Of all the many and varied sections of the show the agricultural exhibits were naturally the most important.

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The competitive exhibits of native agricultural produce brought thousands of entries from all parts of the Province, all of high quality, and the task of the judges was most difficult. Side by side with the competitive exhibits were exhibits and demonstrations of an educational nature staged by the Agricultural staff of the Province. The intense and sustained interest displayed by the natives in these departmental exhibits and demonstrations, which dealt in the main with the technical side of agriculture, surprised even the officers who prepared and explained them. The Trade Exhibition was also very successful, and the enterprising firms who took stalls were delighted not only by the number of orders booked but also by the interest displayed in their very attractive exhibits."

### (c) THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

The statement of education policy produced by the Advisory Committee in 1925 contemplated the conservation and development of the structure of African society through the adaptation of educational methods to local customs and traditions. There must be scope for natural growth and evolution. The hiatus between the educated classes and the rest of the community, whether chiefs or peasants, so common in other tropical countries, must be avoided.

This educational principle was in accord with the principle of indirect rule which was already, in 1925,

being applied in many parts of British Tropical Africa. This principle has been defined as follows: "The legal recognition and gradual moulding of native, social, and political institutions with a minimum of interference by the central government. The aim of the policy is to train the African native by methods and forms of organisation which have a traditional appeal for him so that he may gradually develop a political consciousness and a desire to take an increasing share, first in his tribal affairs and the lands preserved for tribal use, and ultimately also in the government of the territory in which he lives." This involves a continuance of chieftainship which hitherto had tended to disappear under European influence, though when sympathetically treated it had survived tribal conversion to Christianity. The method of such indigenous development varies greatly, but, generally, it might be said that judicial, executive, and financial powers are gradually and cautiously delegated to paramount chiefs individually or collectively (with the title of native administrations) or to native councils brought into being for the exercise of these functions, but consisting mainly or solely of tribal chiefs or their representatives. The policy was first applied to the Emirates of Northern Nigeria, and to the native kingdoms of Uganda, and is associated in its origin with the name of Lord Lugard. There is now an infinite variety of such indirect rule, ranging from highly organised kingdoms with ministers and the beginnings of native parliaments in Uganda, through the paramount chiefs of Tanganyika Territory,

through the petty chiefs of the same territory associated sometimes in larger groups under paramount chiefs, down to the individual village communities with their councils of elders which in Kenya afford material for the creation of native councils. Their executive functions include public works and medical, agricultural, and ecclesiastical activities. Financial resources are obtained by setting apart for the native administrations a portion of the local revenue. Wide legislative powers have been given in Uganda. Judicial powers are limited to certain kinds of cases. The population covered by a native administration ranges from 1,000 to 250,000.

It is not easy to develop an indigenous administration on progressive lines. If the authority of the ruling chief is weakened there is risk of disintegration. Excessive deference to tribal custom and the chiefs' authority may involve stagnation. Continuance, for instance, of forced labour and a denial of the rights of individual ownership would vitiate completely attempts in the schools to produce a class of intelligent and skilled artisans. To teach a boy a trade and give him a set of tools with which to work would be of little use if he and his tools were completely at the disposal of an autocratic chief or an ignorant community when he returns to tribal life. The more highly educated classes will show no desire to return to tribal life and to raise its level if they are given no voice in the management of tribal affairs. A static system of indigenous administration may seriously impede agricultural development. In

spite of these risks some reports on native affairs emphasise the excellence of the work of native administration and treasuries. In one area, for instance, the monthly statement of revenue and expenditure from the accounts of eight chiefs and fifty-one sub-chiefs is received and checked satisfactorily by the native treasurer. This treasury advances sums to applicants within the administration who are engaged in some organised agricultural undertaking which is definitely in advance of existing methods and likely to benefit the tribe as a whole. Some native administrations employ educated men from the community to examine and supervise their financial work.

Indirect rule is only a means towards an end, that end being the ultimate well-being of the whole community. There was a tendency at one time to regard tribal structure as a museum-piece to be preserved, because it is African, from all change. It is recognised now that because it is African and because it is alive it is bound to change and must be allowed to change. Tribal life is dynamic, and the African has a gift for assimilation. We must not prevent change that would be acceptable to the African, or insist on the preservation of features which are contrary to his genius. What is wanted, to supplement a sound knowledge of existing indigenous institutions, is a full knowledge of African psychology and social ideas. Autocratic rule by a single chief is not essentially an African form of government. Their tribal life has been built up on patriarchal rather than autocratic lines. It has a place for elders and

councils without whose advice and concurrence the chief is not supposed to act. The State is to the African the *res publica*, "every one's business." Public opinion counts for more than an administration officer who comes into occasional contact with a chief.

We must guard, therefore, against developing a system of so-called indigenous rule which is neither African nor western, and which is not consistent with progressive ideas that education produces.

How does our educational system assist in the progressive development of indigenous institutions? First, by the establishment of schools for the education of paramount and minor chiefs, and of others who seem capable of playing an influential part in the development of tribal life.

A school for the sons of chiefs in Sierra Leone was established at Bo, a commercial centre in the Protectorate. Its original aim was to assist chiefs to develop rightly the habits and customs of their peoples and the economic prosperity of their lands. The number of paramount chiefs who have taken the course is not large, and the conservatism of their peoples has prevented their bringing much influence to bear as a result of the course. But many ex-pupils are occupying official posts under paramount chiefs, some of considerable importance, which shows that it is possible to give the Protectorate a sound education without alienating the products from tribal life. More than a hundred ex-pupils are engaged in government service, many of them in the agricultural, forestry, and medical

departments, and in the West African police. Most of the remaining ex-pupils have returned to tribal life for agriculture or trading work; some are employed by mercantile firms or the mines.

The course includes, with the three R's, geography and history, nature study, civics, native law, surveying, agriculture, manual training, and hygiene. Owing to the variety of languages in the Protectorate the vernacular cannot be used as a common medium of instruction, but explanations where necessary are given in one of the two most common vernaculars.

Most of the pupils are Mohammedans. An Arab master is specially deputed to keep in touch with the orthodox parents. The school grounds cover seventy acres and contain twenty-four boys' residential houses controlled by native masters, assisted by prefects. All these houses are of native design and indigenous materials adapted to meet hygienic requirements. They are decorated with indigenous paintings, and only native clothes and food are allowed. The classrooms are European in design and construction.

Tabora School, in Tanganyika Territory, has been described as an adaptation of the English public school to African needs. The boys, many of them sons of chiefs, are divided into "villages" or "tribes," each of which selects its "chief," who represents it on the school council. The council tries offences against discipline with all the formalities of a native court, all details being entered in the council book. The course is four years, and the school has its own gardens and

workshops. Manual work, whether on the farm or in carpentry, building, forge-work, etc., is an essential part of the regime, so that sons of chiefs may learn not to despise labour, and to appreciate the value of the artisan equally with the clerk; the advantages of ploughs, fertilisers, and seed-selection in agriculture, and of breeding and feeding in the rearing of stock, are demonstrated. Accountancy and book-keeping are taught so that native treasury work may be understood, and elementary instruction is given in native law. The buildings, which cost £30,000, are on European lines, simple but dignified, with a very fine and stately hall. The school is well suited for training picked individuals for the special new duties which scientific and modern methods of administration demand.

Rather different is the training that chiefs receive together with pupils from every other class of local society at Achimota College, where western methods are more emphatically interwoven with indigenous ways. There are other schools in which the tribal spirit is more completely absorbed and the possibility of tribal growth exemplified. In such schools the tribal theory and practice of education that preceded, and has survived, European contacts is taken into account.

The essence of tribal education is the development in youth of a correct attitude towards the life of the tribal community. Discipline and manners are prominent in a course of instruction, which begins from the cradle and is completed by initiative ceremonies

between the ages of fourteen and twenty, which qualify youth after the attainment of maturity for complete membership of the tribe. During such ceremonies the youths under instruction usually live apart in strict seclusion, and are inured to hardship and suffering by treatment which may seem to those who overlook its symbolic and disciplinary purpose cruel and barbarous. This period of initiation is preceded by a long course of instruction in the duties of a warrior, in the tending of crops and stock, in field and house craft, and in tribal traditions and custom. An "emotional drive" is imparted to such instruction, which is through example rather than precept, by traditional ritual appropriate to particular seasons and occupations, such as the blessing of the axes for the clearing of a forest or the dedication of ploughs at the opening of the agricultural year. Ancestor cult emphasises the sanctity and continuity of tribal life.

The general aim of such education may be summarised as joyous and active membership of a community in whose life alone each individual life has security and value. No system of education can, in fact, afford to ignore such an aim. Our task would seem to be the gradual and cautious adaptation of these tribal methods so that those to whom they are applied learn not only to reverence, but also respectfully and intelligently to criticise tribal lore and custom. They must be taught the importance, not only of conserving but of developing tribal life. Conversely, they must be warned against criticising what they have not fully

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understood and appreciated. To separate wheat from tares involves a knowledge of husbandry.

The school at Malangali,<sup>1</sup> in Tanganyika Territory, represents an attempt in this direction. Its organisation emerged from the anthropological study of three tribes. Pupils are divided into three tribal groups, each with a chief selected by an advisory board of village elders, themselves chosen by local chiefs, and with junior leaders chosen by the group. The school court of justice is on tribal lines. The advisory board of elders assists in discussions on tribal history and manners, in tribal recreation, such as dancing and spear-throwing, and in tribal crafts. Periodically there are songs, stories and dances round the school fire. The pupils' residences are native huts improved on hygienic lines. Local modes of living, sanitation, agriculture, and animal husbandry are critically but sympathetically discussed, and lines of improvement demonstrated. The pupils, sons of minor chiefs, and other boys selected with reference to their potential influence in tribal life, bring with them their cows for the school dairy work. All take a course of simple English; a more ambitious course prepares some for such clerical work as the gradual development of native administrations and contact with the provincial government require.

There are not many schools which strain so deliberately as Malangali to catch the "tribal spirit." But

<sup>1</sup> An interesting account is given in *Africa*, III, 3, by Dr. Mumford, who was responsible for the original organisation. It must be added that since this account was written the organisation and aims have been modified and some of the features described below are no longer emphasised.

in varying degrees, and with varying measure of success, many seek to avoid the cutting off of their pupils from their home and tribal life.

A mission school in Northern Rhodesia reports:

"Every Wednesday evening old people of the tribe are invited to come and tell the boys about the old history and customs of the tribe. This is varied by discussions in which what the boys have learned from these old people is compared with the present-day education and ideals—not always to the advantage of the latter."

Efforts are also being made to foster a sense of local responsibility for education by the gradual delegation to native administrations or councils of responsibility for the maintenance and control of schools. Apart from the training in self-government that such delegation involves, it has educationally two advantages. It encourages a native body to raise locally funds for education which are an invaluable supplement to the restricted funds provided from central revenues. And it stimulates local interest in education, providing scope for local enterprise and experiment. The native councils in Kenya have already contributed substantially by voluntary levies to the spread of native education.

But there are also great dangers. The local native bodies, in return for their contributions, and to foster keenness, may be given controlling powers which they are not at present competent to exercise. This has

happened in India, where education has suffered greatly as a result of premature devolution. There is also the danger of growing rivalry between the Christian missions and the native administrations, each party clamouring for its own schools and demanding the lion's share of educational funds. The time has not yet come when the supervision and financial support of mission schools can be left to native bodies.

With these dangers in view, the Advisory Committee, while strongly supporting the gradual development of local native enterprise, has insisted that final responsibility for the control and direction of all kinds of schools should remain with the education department. It advocates the establishment of *ad hoc* local educational committees as preferable to the investing of native administrations with educational powers. On these educational committees there should be representatives of: (a) the education department; (b) the missions; and (c) the native administrations. A representative body of this kind is qualified to elaborate for its area a system of education adapted to local needs, and to deal fairly with all the agencies concerned. This is, in fact, substantially the procedure that has been followed for some time in Uganda, and has recently been introduced in Kenya. Tribal school committees on somewhat similar lines have recently been established in Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Prominent among the means advocated by the Advisory Committee for relating the school more closely to the community as a whole are the enlargement of

the school's scope and the co-ordination of the efforts of all agencies concerned in such enlargement. "In the advancement of the community the school must co-operate with the social service departments of the Government and with every agency, official or voluntary, concerned in the welfare of the people." The commission which investigated agriculture in India some years ago reported that, of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself. "Throughout our investigation we have constantly been impressed with the thought that mere material improvement will not bring lasting benefit to the agricultural population. To break the inhibition on the will to live better there is required a strong central driving force that will encourage enthusiastic development of public spirit and provide suitable material for active workers in their campaign in favour of the improvement of village life." Many agencies, unofficial as well as official, are combining in India to develop this strong central driving force. Rabindranath Tagore, explaining his scheme for rural reconstruction, has stated that his object is the creation of a richer village life which will make the villager self-reliant and self-respectful, acquainted with the cultural tradition of his country, and competent to use modern resources for the improvement of his physical, intellectual, and economic condition. In the same direction many agencies are thinking and working in Africa. In a recent memorandum the Advisory Committee has suggested methods for making the school

a real community centre, influencing the adult quite as much as the adolescent, a place to which young men and women can come to discuss their problems and new methods for cultivation or marketing, and to get news of the outside world, where the older people can find out more about the new ideas which the younger generation are absorbing and can contribute their own wisdom and experience.

It is not every school that can aim at this wider kind of work. What is now being established in selected centres is the rural or community middle school, which has in its higher classes a strong rural and vocational bias, and an organic connection with all the interests of the communities among which it is situated. It is hoped that these schools will also provide teachers who will gradually extend in a widening circle of schools the same spirit of communal service. Even more important are what are known as the Jeanes Training Schools, which aimed originally only at the training of supervising teachers, competent to develop community work in the group of schools over which they are placed. The idea of these schools came from the United States, and without funds generously provided by the Carnegie Corporation it would have been impossible to establish the three schools that have been producing such excellent results in Kenya, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia. To call them schools gives an inadequate idea of their scope and work. They are really model village communities, to which teachers who have been educated in the rural middle schools

come, with their wives and families, to learn how to live domestic lives on progressive and enlightened lines, and how to communicate the method of such life to others. House-planning and building, the management of simple dispensaries, the growing of sample crops, the theory and practice of hygienic sanitation, the principles of co-operative credit work—all this is included in the curriculum of these schools. Their influence has extended among other training schools. And their principles were, in fact, already being applied in the training department of Achimota College before the first Jeanes school came into existence.

Reports and discussion at a recent African Jeanes Schools Conference showed not only that the basic idea of adapting village schools to the social and economic needs of the community has taken firm root in tropical Africa, but also that it has thrown out in its growth shoots of great interest and value. The president of the Carnegie Corporation and other American visitors to the conference noted with special pleasure the development of the Jeanes system on lines not contemplated in the country of its origin, but clearly appropriate to African conditions.

Briefly, it may be said that work in the Jeanes training centres has been expanded from the training of visiting teachers so as to cover, or at least move in the direction of covering, the preparation of all classes of workers concerned with the welfare of rural communities in such a way as to ensure the effective co-operation of these workers. Thus, for example, in the Kenya school,

where such expansion first began, classes have been held for teachers' wives and other classes of women likely to hold influential positions, agricultural instructors, health workers, scout masters, and other kinds of social workers. Taking into account the work done on such lines in Kenya, Nyasaland, and elsewhere, the Salisbury Conference summarised the possible activities of Jeanes training centres as follows:

"Co-operation between village schools and people and between one community and another, co-operation between the body of teachers in a particular area, co-operation with other agents such as agricultural instructors and health workers, the encouragement of community and home recreation of all forms, such as exhibitions, festivals, sports, and competitions, the encouragement of village libraries, the fostering of interest in co-operative marketing, trade and saving, the organisation of guilds and classes for women and the guidance of youth organisations. The Conference expressed the opinion that community development must necessarily be part of any educational programme for the African village, and that the carrying out of Jeanes ideals, particularly in social service activities, was one of the most effective ways of educating the community."

Special interest was shown by the conference in the course for native authorities instituted at the Nyasaland training centre at Zomba. In 1933 the work of the

centre was explained to five district commissioners with thirty chiefs who visited the school. As a result of this visit the chiefs asked that they and their families might be given similar training. In March 1934 six chiefs and their families started on the first four months' course arranged for them, the cost of their six houses at the centre being paid for by the native authorities' central fund.

Candidates for the chiefs' course are selected by district commissioners. The objects of the training given are:

- (a) To instil in the chiefs a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their people and encourage a more direct interest in their social and economic welfare.
- (b) To lead the chiefs to a realisation of the fact that they can raise the standard of living in the villages and make a great improvement in social amenities.
- (c) To encourage them to co-operate with the Jeanes teachers and support the latter in their work, both in school and village.

The course lasts for four months and includes agriculture, hygiene and sanitation, rudimentary economics, Jeanes community work, a little arithmetic and book-keeping, instruction in the rights and duties of citizenship in relation to the rights and duties of chieftainship, the evolution of government and taxation, and how the present-day government of the Protectorate works.

Both Jeanes teachers and chiefs have opportunities to study projects for village improvement in the school settlement as well as in the neighbouring villages. They also organise, through elected village committees, community meetings at which they deliver suitable lectures preparing the ground for proposed project work, and thus they become familiar with the practical application of the necessary principles, and with the difficulties to be overcome in actual village conditions.

Among the many valuable results obtained by these and subsequent courses must be included a sympathetic attitude towards schools and their teachers induced in chiefs who have been trained. This close and friendly connection between native administrators and teachers is further assisted by the fact that the chiefs are responsible for organising the various activities of the model village in which all students under training live. They are assisted in this work by councillors who are selected from among the other students. In this way chiefs and Jeanes students are trained to co-operate under model village community conditions.

The development of work on these lines in the Nyasaland centre has been commended by the Governor and administrative officers. All who have seen or heard about this work have recognised its important bearing on problems that have emerged elsewhere, where visiting teachers trained under the Jeanes system have come into contact with native authorities, government administrative officers, and the officers of the various social service departments. The lines on which progress

has been made in Nyasaland have suggested a mode of co-operation between the various social service departments and the schools, that has for some time been urged by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

It has often been felt that Jeanes visiting teachers are expected in their visiting work to assume responsibility for technical advice for which their educational qualifications prior to training, and the necessarily short period of training, cannot adequately qualify them. Their conscientious, but not always effective, efforts to apply what they have learned to the schools and villages they visit sometimes make their relations with the technical and administrative staff difficult. Visiting teachers, as indeed all teachers in rural schools, require not so much a body of technical information, which they may find it difficult to assimilate, as a trained and receptive mind with readiness and ability to understand what the officers of the technical departments advise and to appreciate its bearing on village school and community work. The assembling of teachers and subordinate officers of technical departments at the same centre, as has been done in Kenya, Nyasaland, and elsewhere, and the imposing on the technical officers thus trained of responsibility for technical advice, not only relieves the visiting teachers of an excessive burden of responsibility, but also facilitates harmonious co-operation with technical officers in their subsequent work. Similarly, the training of chiefs and subordinate administrative officers at such centres

will establish the same friendly and helpful relations between the teaching and the administrative staff. It is important, of course, that the aims and functions of the technical officers should be clearly defined in consultation with the heads of the departments concerned, and that these aims should be clearly borne in mind during their period of training.

One Jeanes training centre has already given up the training of visiting teachers, since there are enough teachers for the number of posts that the Government is able to provide. There is a general feeling that all rural teachers ought to have the same kind of training as has hitherto been thought to be necessary for visiting teachers. In areas where it is possible within a reasonably short period to provide all the rural schools with teachers trained in this way it may be possible to dispense altogether with visiting teachers, on the understanding, of course, that advice on health and agricultural work is given by properly trained technical officers visiting the schools at regular intervals. In other areas the need for visiting teachers, more particularly for the guidance of schools staffed by untrained teachers, will continue to be felt and will have to be supplied.

As the result of a report on the Jeanes School Conference, prepared by Zanzibar delegates to that conference, a Jeanes centre has recently been opened in Zanzibar which will comprise the essential features of Jeanes centre development in Africa as described above.

of African tribal life on sound hygiene and productive agriculture made the claims of biological studies in African schools urgent and insistent, while African reverence for tribal life and the desire to preserve it provide a suitable atmosphere for such studies. Since the economic future of Africa must for many years to come be based on agriculture, and be dependent on public health, it was suggested that biology should be the basic school science.

The Advisory Committee, after considering a report by Professor Julian Huxley on this subject, welcomed the fundamental principle stressed in the report that a school course should be unified by a central purpose appropriate to the needs and circumstances of the community. They agreed also that biological studies, important in all countries for cultural as well as utilitarian reasons, deserved in African life an even more prominent place than that assigned in many other regions. Without overlooking the importance of art and letters, ethics and religion, which, together with science, are the highest modes of human activity, they realised that in a country at present so far removed from western culture and traditions the biological studies, having such an intimate connection with the local environment, ensured continuity of development and minimised the risk of dislocation. They saw no reason why biological studies should jeopardise in any way religious teaching, to which so much importance has already been attached. That such teaching would be greatly helped by wise treatment of the biological

subjects was pointed out by the mission representatives of the Committee.

The central factor of school life, however, should not be any subject, but the individual child viewed in relation to his environment. In the elementary stages formal division into subjects is, in fact, to be avoided. The project method is preferable, namely, the basic study of concrete facts, problems, and situations which call for illumination from more than one point of view, and lead inquiry into more than one direction.

The biological aspect of communal life must be included emphatically among these aspects of life with which the teacher must deal. In the more primitive schools the practical treatment of questions of health, cultivation, and social organisation will be solved in action by the pupils before they are studied theoretically. Nowhere should biology teaching be dependent on laboratories and apparatus. "The real equipment is in the environment of the school and the outlook of the teacher."

To ensure attention to the biological aspect those responsible for the recruitment of educational staff at home must recognise the need for scientifically minded men and women, not those who have specialised in one branch of science, but rather persons who by their education have conceived a lively idea of the relation of science to life, and who are fitted to interpret these relations to a primitive community. There must be closer co-operation with the two departments, agricultural and medical, responsible for what may be called

the biological forms of social service. The probationary courses at home for government and mission educationists must include training in the handling of biological studies. Vacation courses and visits to rural schools are required for educationists at home on leave. The preparation of simple hand-books for teachers and suitable reading books for pupils must be taken in hand.

In all these matters considerable progress has been made. Valuable help has been given by the British Social Hygiene Council. Apart from its specific oversea activities the steps that it is taking to draw the attention of the English education authorities to the need for better provision for biological teaching in English schools and colleges may increase the number of biologically minded candidates for educational work overseas.

"A necessary condition of a community's advance," says the Advisory Committee in its 1925 statement, "is the improvement of agriculture and development of native industries." For Africa's good, as well as for the world that needs her products, this is necessary. Unless her wealth-producing capacity is increased she cannot pay for her effective education and social or cultural advance. She cannot compete in the world's markets unless agricultural and industrial work is more intelligently and honestly done. Cultivation must be more intensive, cash crops must be added to food crops for the local need where transport facilities are available. Land must no longer be wastefully used, forests must not be destroyed, cattle must no longer be used chiefly for barter and bred indiscriminately without

reference to quality or the amount of cultivation. The cost of the technical departments of government must be reduced by the substitution of skilled African for imported skilled labour.

Agricultural and industrial advance depends educationally on three factors:

- (a) Raising of the general standard of intelligence, awakening of the mind to the possibilities and means of advance, increased quickness of observation and reasoning, a willingness to receive and ability to profit by the instruction and services of the technical departments of government, a more scientific attitude towards life.
- (b) The training and disciplining of character to a realisation of the dignity and use of hard and honest work, the will to work and to advance.
- (c) The acquisition of skill by definite vocational training.

In the lowest and most extended grade of school, the elementary school for the masses, the first two of the three requisites noted above, the training of character and development of an intelligent attitude towards communal life and needs, should be secured. For a more limited number efforts are being made to provide in educational institutions vocational training of a definite type, though somewhat restricted in scope, and for a still more limited number a more highly specialised and scientific kind of vocational training. The masses who

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do not proceed beyond the elementary school will receive as adults, not in schools, but on demonstration farms, evening classes and lectures, conducted not by school-teachers, but by the technical departments, vocational instruction of a simple kind that will increase their productivity, provided, of course, that their previous school education has prepared them to assimilate it.

It is not financially practicable to provide specialised vocational training, which, if effective, is expensive, in the ordinary elementary school. It is educationally unsound to begin any kind of specialised training before a sound educational foundation has been laid. But an agricultural or industrial bias can be given to elementary school-work, by nature study, and by very simple manual training; interest in local agriculture and industries can be quickened, and a liking and aptitude for manual work developed by simple work wisely planned in the school garden which gives scope, not only for simple agricultural operations, but for simple carpentry jobs. Pupils thus trained will be fit subjects for the technical departments and the Jeanes supervising teachers to work on. They will be able to appreciate, for instance, the work that is being done by the co-operative credit societies of the Gold Coast in the production and marketing of cocoa. They will come to see that cultivation for profit as well as for home consumption is both practicable and desirable, a hard lesson for the African, who, for climatic reasons and by tradition, regards it as far more pleasant to cultivate at his own time just what he needs for his own food,

and to enjoy the abundant leisure that this sole occupation leaves him, than to live laborious days cultivating for sale in mysterious far-away places crops that his immediate needs do not necessitate. That he is learning this lesson is proved by the fact that the average proceeds of the peasants' cash crops in Nigeria have grown from 10s. to £10 a year in the last decade, and by even more encouraging reports from the cocoa industry on the Gold Coast. In their cash crop cultivation the west coast natives are showing "magnificent determination," according to the testimony of a recent Governor of Nigeria. What they chiefly lack now is cash capital, and that will come gradually as the result of thrift and co-operative credit. In Tanganyika sixty-eight per cent of the coffee is native grown. In Uganda the export of native-grown cotton is considerable.

We pass now from the elementary school, with its rural and industrial bias, to the rural middle school, with a more definite vocational bias, but providing a further course of general education. There is, in addition to these, a comparatively small number of what may be called definitely vocational schools. Among these are a few schools devoted entirely to agricultural training, and controlled by the agricultural departments or by the education department in very close co-operation with the agricultural. But there is a tendency to discourage this type of school, whose products are too highly and specially trained for village agriculture in its present state, but not sufficiently trained for posts in the agricultural department to

which they usually aspire. For the most part agricultural departments prefer to train personally on their own farms those whom they propose to use later for administrative or experimental work, and to approach the adult peasant population through such administrative work and lectures. Similarly, there is a tendency to discourage the expansion of what would be called in England trade schools, linked with particular industries and turning out for them skilled artisans. In several dependencies such specialised courses are being converted into a less highly specialised form of training suitable for village industries and for domestic purposes, such as village house-building, planning, and furnishing. The more specialised kinds of training are given in technical schools controlled and largely staffed by the technical departments, where the number of students can be regulated by the demand for skilled labour. This is particularly necessary in East and Central Africa, where the African has to compete not only with the white, but also with the Asiatic artisan. The missions also are providing this more specialised kind of training in connection with building work and other industrial operations which meet the normal requirements of their mission stations. Working on these stations under European supervision, the natives receive practical training in carpentry, building, and smithy work.

A mission school at Blantyre, Nyasaland, is a good example of the type of middle school that experiment is developing in Africa.

All boys who complete the lower middle course and enter the upper middle must choose some profession or trade; at present these are limited to medicine, agriculture, teaching, clerical work, and carpentry. They are not apprenticed, and their general education is continued, but it is given a bias in the direction of the work chosen, chiefly by afternoon classes. During the three years of the upper middle course, students may, for adequate reasons, alter their choice. They are definitely apprenticed only after the three years are completed.

The advantages of this system are obvious. Boys can discover, before they are definitely committed, whether they like the work they have chosen, and their instructors can judge whether they have the necessary aptitude. Furthermore, the boys get three years longer at their general studies. This is most important. Inadequate general education is the great handicap under which most Africans suffer when they enter upon vocational training.

It might have been expected that boys would be unwilling to subscribe to the new conditions which postpone for three years any wage-earning. But the principal has stated that shortly after the new terms were published every vacancy was filled, and he has had to turn away many applicants.

At Koyeima boarding-school in Sierra Leone Protectorate pupils who have completed a lower elementary course in the day-schools of the neighbourhood take a four years' course of general education which is related

to vocational training. In building, carpentry, and agriculture correlation of theory and practice enhances the dignity and interest of manual work.

The chief government secondary school in Sierra Leone Colony is also combining practical and theoretical work in metal and automobile work, as well as woodwork, with preparation of a more academic nature for the Cambridge School Certificate examinations, and the results show that these two kinds of work can successfully be combined.

In the Gold Coast, middle schools with a strong vocational bias play a very important part. In three such schools more than three hundred pupils are taught masonry, carpentry, and metalwork during the four years' course, in the first two years of which they devote two-thirds of their time to the ordinary literary subjects of a higher elementary school. During the last two years those who show special aptitude for the technical work devote two-thirds of their time to it and the rest to ordinary school subjects. All pupils are also required to work on the school farms, 30 to 50 acres, growing food crops. The general aim of the course is to prepare boys for village occupations, industrial and otherwise, rather than for a higher and more specialised technical course. A great deal of building work is done by the pupils, including the construction, with necessary masonry and woodwork, of a dining-hall, two bridges, a drain, two bathrooms, and, in one school, quarters for the African teachers. Much building-work is being done also by other schools in the Gold Coast, and also

in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, and Tanganyika. Great importance is attached to the using of native designs and materials and their adaptation to hygienic requirements.

Many of these vocational middle schools in Nigeria, and elsewhere, also contain departments for the training of elementary school-teachers, and some, particularly in the urban areas, provide instruction likely to be of use in subordinate clerical or commercial posts.<sup>1</sup>

We have now to consider a section—we can hardly call it a community—of the African world that is relatively small, but of great importance and steadily growing in numbers, namely, the detribalised or partially detribalised native employed in the industrial and mining centres of East and Central Africa, and in domestic or public service, or in trade and industry, in towns throughout tropical Africa. Though the urban population of Africa is still very small, it is increasing rapidly where industrial development is financed by European capital. Already in Northern Rhodesia ten per cent of the population is urbanised, though the urban population of East Africa is only one per cent of the total. The economic and educational problems created by this industrial urbanisation are discussed in the report, *Modern Industry and the African*, of the Merle Davis Commission that investigated the results of the opening up of Northern Rhodesia to big-scale industry.

The problems of the detribalised native arise out of

<sup>1</sup> Provision for technical and professional training of a more advanced nature is described below in Section (d).

the contest of black and white, and require for their effective settlement the ethical assumption summarised in our first chapter.

Educationally, we have to find out: (*a*) how the villager who has taken to urban wage-earning, and his children, if he brings them with him or raises a family locally, can be trained for honest and intelligent wage-earning labour; (*b*) how he can be prevented from returning to his village when his wage-earning period is over with habits and ideas that not only unfit him for tribal life, but make him a disintegrating force in village life.

The second problem arises from the fact that a permanent and urbanised class of wage-earning has not yet emerged in the mining centres. Labour is drawn to the industrial centres by the chance of earning what will procure the luxuries and comforts that mere cultivation of food crops for home consumption will never win for them. When they have earned what they think enough, or when, owing to the all too common slump, there is no further need for their services, they often return to the village. The average stay of a villager in Northern Rhodesian mines does not exceed eighteen months. But there are villages where sixty per cent of the working male population is absent at work in the mines. Labour recruiting agents are no longer required, and many consider the short contract system justified by its results. But the risks it involves for tribal life are obvious. What must at all costs be avoided is the use of villages merely as reservoirs of cheap labour,

and as asylums for the disabled or unemployed. It is good that wage-earners should return to their villages, if during their wage-earning period they have so been treated and trained as to make them helpful in village life when they return. It is good that they should have a chance as wage-earners of earning capital that will make village life more comfortable. But it is not good that village life should be left undeveloped and uncared for in order that villagers may more readily leave them for wage-earning occupations.

The problems, though essentially educational, are not primarily *school* problems. Temporary wage-earners do not always bring their wives and families with them; the number of children is, anyhow, small. It is in the first place a question of suitable housing and surroundings, training in hygiene and sanitary habits, suitable diet and sympathetic training for the more difficult kinds of work. Under these heads the mine-owners and plantation employers, as described by the Merle Davis Commission and in government reports, seem to be fairly effective. Physically, intellectually, and in manual skill the native profits from his period of wage-earning. The position is not so good among the casual wage-earners and petty traders to be found in the native locations of the urban centres.

It is also certain that these wage-earners are able to save money, some of which is spent on gramophones, sewing-machines, bicycles, and other symbols of western civilisation. It is not only these material objects, but also a quickened intelligence, and what

may vaguely be called "progressive ideas," that they take back to their villages.

But all this may be, in village life, a source of confusion and trouble unless other conditions, too, are fulfilled. Character must be built up; sexual morality proof against urban temptations must be developed. Respect for authority must be sustained, and what is good in tribal traditions must not be forgotten. Agricultural skill must not be lost but nurtured on garden plots and allotments; the simple crafts useful for village life must be practised. The wage-earners will then be suitable for return to village life, and more acceptable as permanent members of an urban population if they decide to stay.

This is where the work of missions comes in. For it goes beyond what has hitherto, at all events, been expected of the mines and plantations employers, though they can provide suitable conditions for such work. Their attitude towards missions so far has been, quite justifiably, guarded. But individual missionaries have been allowed to work on the settlements where their fitness for such work has been proved. And native welfare associations have grown up here and there, in which missionaries collaborate with official and non-official whites, as well as with educated Africans, for the cultural and moral advancement of the wage-earners. But progress so far has been slight, and the missions will have to devote more time and energy to these problems. Gradually, a type of village community within the settlements and locations will have to be

developed with allotments for intensive culture, simple workshops for simple crafts, evening lectures, and a simple type of community government that will keep the wage-earner in touch with the elements of tribal life. A united mission effort on these lines has been begun in Northern Rhodesia. There is a growing tendency on the part of employers to encourage wage-earners to bring or send for their wives, who will help to consolidate this type of village life. And there will be a growing number of children, for whom schools on village lines will be needed.

But the native must also be equipped for his industrial work, however short the period of such work may be. Left to himself, the African is not an ideal wage-earning employee, owing to his traditions and environment rather than to any inherent racial defect. By tradition he regards work as a tribal obligation, to be carried out under chief's orders, or as an unpleasant duty imposed on slaves, or as a stern necessity for producing the means of life. He has no love of work for work's sake, and where there is no compulsion from above he has no traditions which will bind him to do his best for his employer. He will not be tempted by the hope of gaining capital to work for an hour longer than what is necessary to keep himself. If he is to work harder, longer, and more honestly and continuously, education must inculcate ideas of sanctity of contract and of ordinary honesty to his employer. It must provide a stimulus towards a higher standard of living and show the advantages of capital, however small. This is the

task of the urban or mines school—which it may take generations to perform.

Even the most effective school will not ensure for European capital the kind of labour it needs. If rural education proceeds as planned, the alternative to wage-earning is life in a progressive village community, a development of peasant proprietorship, improved methods of cultivation, and the prospect of adding cash crops to food crops. Social and material advance will no longer be only for those who go to the mines or towns. It will not be for the common good to entice men from these prospects, and it will, in fact, be difficult to do so, unless as wage-earners they get a chance of rising beyond mere unskilled labour, unless opportunities for acquiring and practising skilled trades are afforded, and unless, in short, educational opportunities are afforded of acquiring, not only the desire, but the means for a higher standard of life. Most assuredly the white man will not lose by such a process, and there are signs of recognition of this fact in British Tropical Africa.

We pass now from the more utilitarian and vocational side of African education to those aspects of school life specially concerned with the enrichment of life, the quickening of interest, enlargement of horizon, and a heightened capacity for both understanding and enjoyment.

We wish to offer Africa what we believe to be fundamental and best in our western life and to use this as a means whereby the African can develop what

is best in his own life. As an example of this inter-weaving of African and western life and thought the history syllabus recently suggested by the Advisory Committee for secondary schools and training colleges in tropical Africa deserves attention. This course, which was prepared by experts at home in consultation with persons possessed of African experience, aims at helping the pupils to understand tropical Africa in its relations to the outside world. Essentially, it is an account of the various impacts on tropical Africa of representatives of more highly developed civilisations, Asiatic and European, outside. It does not aim, like the history courses in French and Belgian Africa,<sup>1</sup> at depicting the glories of French or Belgian history and civilisation, and the good fortune of tropical Africa in being brought within their orbit. It seeks rather to show what Africa has learnt and has still to learn from outside sources, and what it has given and is capable of giving to the world.

The most difficult problem, perhaps, that we have to face on the cultural side is the position of the vernacular languages and their relation to English. However deeply we sympathise with those who maintain that the language of the race or tribe is an essential part of the soul of that race or tribe, possessing emotional

<sup>1</sup> There is a delightful sureness of touch in the official instruction of French West Africa. "En ce qui concerne l'Afrique, il faudra donc se borner à donner une idée sommaire de la pénétration française; quant à notre histoire nationale, elle devra surtout fournir l'âme indigène d'exemples héroïques et exciter en elle l'admiration." Nor is there any ambiguity in the Belgian Congo. "Au cours des leçons sur l'histoire du Congo, on s'attachera à faire ressortir les avantages qu'ont retirés les populations indigènes de l'occupation européenne."

repress African culture. They realise the risks of bilingual education as a possibly disruptive force which might also lead to mental confusion and dualism of personality. But these risks have not yet been scientifically assessed by sociologists or psychologists. Practical considerations show clearly the necessity for including both English and vernaculars in our system. We must distinguish, however, gradually and cautiously, as the result of research and experiment, the actual and potential values of the various vernaculars; and we must guard against waste of time and energy on the artificial support of vernaculars which without their support would die a natural death. The study of English should not be rigidly confined to those who require it for economic, commercial, or professional purposes. A wide-spread knowledge of English will familiarise the African population with Western thought and feeling, enable them to read what will be of use in the building up of their lives, and facilitate personal contact with English-speaking administrators and visitors. To restrict the study of English on the grounds that it is politically and socially disturbing is not justified.

In accordance with these general principles, the Advisory Committee agrees with the report of the Phelps Stokes Commission that the language best known and understood by the child on his entry into school life is the most effective medium for his preliminary instruction. It should also be the first language systematically taught to him. Provided that

competent teachers are available, English should play a prominent part in all post-primary instruction and should be introduced in the final stages of the primary school course. They are not generally in favour of beginning English simultaneously with the mother tongue in the early stages.

The aim of English instruction in the post-primary stages should be a sound working knowledge of English. Superficial literary attainments should be discouraged. When, as the result of experiment, the cultural value of a vernacular language has been established its continuance as a subject of the post-primary school curriculum is most desirable.

Prolonged use of the vernacular medium of instruction is not contemplated. There should be a gradual transition from this medium to English at some stage between the initial and final stage of post-primary instruction. By the time he completes a full secondary school course the African pupil should be able to understand instruction given in English and to express his ideas in English. At what time the transition should take place will depend partly on local circumstances and partly on the nature of the subject which is being taught. If the transition to an English medium is long delayed it ought to leave more time for the intensive study of English as a language subject.

There has been general acceptance of the principles summarised above. Except in the technical schools of East Africa there is no evidence of any post-primary education being conducted entirely through the

medium of the vernacular. On the other hand in some areas, for reasons that are locally justified, the teaching of English as a subject is begun in the earliest stage of primary education. The English examining boards which undertake at present the examination and certification of very many secondary school pupils in tropical Africa have adopted a most sympathetic and helpful line by providing courses and examinations in vernacular languages which do not, as yet, possess any literature worth the name and in which questions of grammar, composition and orthography have not yet been finally settled.

Much is being done for the standardisation and development of the vernaculars selected from groups of allied languages with a view to their educational possibilities. The task of selection is in itself no easy one. In Nigeria there is a vernacular language bureau which deals with translations and vernacular publications. All the dependencies have vernacular publication and text-book committees. In the Gold Coast Achimota College is a centre for this work. Four selected Gold Coast vernaculars play an important part in the curriculum of that college up to the secondary school certificate stage. Thanks to the initiative and research of the staff, European as well as African, who are compelled to pass stiff examinations in these vernaculars, substantial additions are being made to their scanty literature both by original work and translation, and students are combining with the study of these languages the study of the traditions and

culture of the tribes which speak them. The second language test for the staff includes a vernacular thesis on the local traditions of the tribes speaking the language. Vernacular plays are produced by the students, and lectures on tribal history and custom are given in the vernacular by tribal chiefs and other leading Africans. In Northern Rhodesia, 4 out of 32 indigenous languages have been selected for standardisation and educational use. Text-books have been produced in all of them. In Nyasaland the orthography of the language selected for general educational use is being fixed, and text-books are being produced. Valuable help has been given in this important work by the International Institute of African Languages and more particularly by Dr. Westermann.

In regard to this selection and standardisation a difficult question arises. Are we justified in imposing on African pupils a native language which is not their own? As a rule they would far rather spend time in learning English than in learning the vernacular of, possibly, a rival tribe. Though Dr. Westermann thinks that the need for a common vernacular has spread with the growth of peace and order, it cannot be said that recognition of this need is widespread. In the East African territories one language, Swahili, has been selected as the official Union language, that is to say, the language which it is hoped will become the lingua franca of all educated Africans. Though in accordance with the Advisory Committee's policy the most elementary instruction is being given

in the mother tongue or allied tongue, instruction in Swahili begins, as a rule, before English, and many pupils in the post-primary stages do not advance from the study of Swahili to a study of English. Swahili has grown from the impact of Islam on East Africa and is a blend of Arabic and the Bantu languages, written in Arabic script. Most earnest efforts are being made by the Interterritorial Language Committee to develop the literature, grammars, and dictionaries of this language. Despite considerable progress, it is too early as yet to say whether educated East Africa will eventually accept this Union tongue as a substitute for English or will even give up from the study of English the time that Swahili study requires. We can only offer in the early stages facilities for indigenous culture and languages, and suggest reasons why the facilities should be adopted. Ultimately, Africa will reach the stage when she will decide for herself.<sup>1</sup>

Special efforts have been made by the International Institute of African Languages to promote vernacular literature by prizes for original composition. Every year prizes are offered in a selected group of languages. The number of entries has been encouraging and exceeded 100 last year. No candidate, so far, has earned a first-class prize and no work deserving of publication by the Institute has yet been produced.

The importance of arts and crafts, music, dance, and

<sup>1</sup> The Joint Select Committee of Parliament in its 1931 report felt the desirability of encouraging a gradual change from Swahili to English.

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drama, and their place in the African school, have been recognised, though not perhaps with sufficient emphasis, by the Advisory Committee. Their importance has been recognised in West Africa, where more has been done for them in the last ten years than in the hundred years of our rule in India.

That the African is temperamentally an artist has already been suggested. He is emotional with a gift for expression, using, in his primitive state, simple but cherished tools to elaborate with loving care domestic utensils, as well as implements for tribal ritual and ceremony. In wood-carving he is pre-eminent. The dance and drama are his natural modes of communal expression in every phase of his social and religious life. Under such of his native rulers as have patronised art, as, for instance, in Ashanti, Benin, and Kano, public works of great magnificence have been carried out. We hear of one ruler who employed in his court 300 looms and contributed his own dye-works. However, the African, though essentially original, is also a first-class borrower quite capable of developing his art in the light of what foreign art can teach him, and of spoiling it when he is given the wrong stimulus from outside!

There is a clear need for more effective patronage of African art by governments and missions in the decoration of public and ecclesiastical buildings. Thanks to a suggestion of the Advisory Committee, a book on West African art<sup>1</sup> has been published which demonstrates its decorative possibilities and the part it plays

<sup>1</sup> *Art of West Africa.* O.U.P., 1935.

in everyday contemporary life. A very successful exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and carving by art teachers trained by the Nigeria education department has recently been held in London.

Our task is to see that our schools not only abstain from destroying the native conception of art as a natural and essential element in domestic and tribal life, but definitely encourage that conception and assist in its realisation. We must abstain from regarding African art as something picturesque and bizarre for museum purposes and learn to look at it as the natural expression of racial feeling. We must cherish what is characteristic in the sculpture and carving, the sense of rhythm and pattern, the freedom from restraint, the working up of solidly felt shapes rather than the building up on a linear basis. Appreciating racial genius, we must welcome technological improvement and development of method as a result of outside influence. We must not insist on a naturalism which is alien to their genius. But if their genuine artists are influenced by western naturalism there is no more reason to complain than when Flemish painters have learned from Italian or French from African artists. We must cherish their natural association of design with material and not impose on native materials South Kensington designs planned in the air, though inspiration and guidance may come from study of the best kinds of western design adapted to western materials. Above all we must be patient and reticent, studying their art and giving them the best of ours to study, and

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letting them develop on their own convictions provided they are sincerely held.

An important obstacle to art teaching in secondary schools has recently been removed. Many of the secondary schools in Africa present candidates for the Cambridge School Certificate examination. The art syllabus for this examination has hitherto been on English ideas and adapted to English conditions. Art masters have now been relieved by the acceptance by the Cambridge Examination Syndicate of an alternative syllabus carefully adapted in accordance with local advice to tropical needs.

Nowhere are the educational possibilities of the drama more obvious than in Africa, where, in combination with song and dance, it plays an important part in tribal life and ritual in addition to providing recreation during the ample leisure of African life. The central feature of African drama, song, and dance is the drum, which, with its magnificent rhythm, is a characteristic feature of African life. The fact that performances take place out of doors with no proscenium brings the actors into close touch with the audience, who often participate, adding greatly thereby to the emotional atmosphere. The possibilities of indigenous development seem unlimited and have been explored recently by the British Drama League in discussion with officers on leave, missionaries, and Africans in England. Some educated Africans who took part in the conference stressed the danger of presumption of the mode of development by Europeans, however well

meaning. Many of them are frankly anxious to cast off what they call the tribal slough. As one of them remarked, "We do not want to be kept in the Stone Age or in a museum." In accordance with this feeling, some schools, notably in the Gold Coast and in Uganda, have definitely encouraged the acting of Shakespeare and later English dramatists, while one enterprising school in Cape Coast presents most effectively verse translations of Greek plays. On the other hand, some of the keenest educational exponents of drama in Nigeria are encouraging effectively plays based on tribal life and tradition as well as story-telling with accompanying songs and dances. In the Jeanes school, Kenya, uses of the drama for raising the standard of village life are being explored, and plays showing the uses of hygiene, co-operative credit, etc., have been staged, as well as fables of the Aesop kind. The general impression at that school is that the Kenya tribes have reached only a very primitive stage in drama and that until the dramatic sense has grown with education serious drama is likely to be spoiled by the over-keen sense of humour on the part of the audience, their inability to appreciate pathos, and their love of burlesque. This view, however, is for the most part rejected in West Africa; Achimota comprehensively fosters every kind of drama, making use of the sense of burlesque which is deprecated in Kenya in the staging of most amusing plays in tribal life, but presenting also most effective scenes from the Old Testament, as well as Shakespeare, Gilbert and Sullivan, and Bernard Shaw.

The staff believes in letting the African develop dramatically on his own lines of development. The missions in nativity plays and Old Testament scenes are using the drama for their own more specific purposes.

African music is always accompanied by song and rhythmic movement. The various rhythmic movements are intricately interwoven, but balance of rhythm is always secured. There is much recitative, and the leader of the chorus preserves unity in an amazing diversity of rhythms and themes by impressing at intervals his own *motif*. In tribal life, music and dance stimulate some activities which are not always acceptable and are often an outlet for emotions which more advanced races express with less publicity and more reserve. For this reason the missions show considerable and natural caution in their admission to school life. Achimota, on the other hand, combines tribal dances and drumming with orchestral classical music and lectures on the appreciation of western music. It is significant that those who are best in the tribal dramas and dances often excel in the orchestra devoted to western music and in the chapel choir.

African music, developed on its own lines, can play an important part in the life of a school. If it is omitted from school life it is likely to be replaced almost entirely by western gramophone records. On the other hand, an appreciation of western music is possible and consistent with African music developed in skilful hands. Much can be done by a careful

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the inspectorate is filled at present by Africans. There are two African assistant colonial secretaries in Sierra Leone.

The Advisory Committee, reviewing the whole position of higher education in 1933, started from the following facts:

- (1) The number of secondary schools is increasing and their standard of efficiency is steadily being raised, with the result, more particularly on the west coast, that an increasingly large number of pupils are desirous and capable of taking a university course.
- (2) Though post-secondary instruction is given in three colleges on the west coast and in one college on the east coast, an increasingly large number of Africans, particularly from the west coast, are going to Europe and America for complete university courses not yet available in their own country. This involves undue expense. The conditions of life in the outside countries are not always suitable and the courses are designed without regard to African needs and conditions.
- (3) In the absence of African universities and of any other bodies capable of conducting certificate examinations with an assured standard and the certainty of outside recognition, the pupils of almost all African secondary schools are taking examination courses designed in England with

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reference primarily to English conditions. Though efforts are made by the examination boards to meet African needs and wishes, the results of such adaptation are not as satisfactory as courses designed or controlled by a local university.

In the Committee's opinion, the present absence of complete university and professional courses impedes recruitment of properly trained natives for the posts which the declared government policy has in mind for them. There is no reason why west coast students should be so dependent on American bounty and American institutions. "The number of applicants for higher education will certainly grow, and if the facilities are not developed under the wise control of Government there will be an outcrop of individual and group enterprises with social and political results prejudicial to Africa."

The Committee urged, therefore, the development of the three West African and the one East African post-secondary institutions up to a real and complete university standard, the process of development being that followed in the civic universities of England, namely, gradual transition from university colleges controlled by an existing university into independent universities. They suggest that it is the task of London University to give to such universities the assistance that they require and deserve. Special courses should be devised by the London University for such colleges.

University teachers should be seconded for work in them. There should be periodical inspection by the University.

In such university colleges preference should be given to medicine, engineering, agriculture, veterinary work, commerce, and the applied sciences. There should also be an education course and provision for the training of secondary school teachers. The importance of more purely academic and cultural subjects is recognised, but the first essential is to ensure social and economic conditions without which there can be no solid basis for a cultural life. Provided that generous provision is made for such courses up to university degree standard of a kind adapted to local conditions, but of equivalent value to European or American standards, there can be no objection to Africans proceeding to other countries for post-graduate work. It should, in fact, be encouraged where ability and funds are secured. Finally, the Committee urges the need for consultation between the various governments concerned regarding co-ordination and direction of higher educational work on the most economical lines. In West Africa, for instance, it is obviously impossible that each of the three colleges should provide all kinds of facilities. To each college must be assigned particular work for which students from outside as well as inside the colony will resort to the college.

Progress on these lines is already being made. In Nigeria, the recently opened Yaba College is providing the kind of courses contemplated by the Committee, though not at present up to the standard contemplated

by that committee. Hostel accommodation has been provided for 120 students and already there are 92 students, including one woman, all scholarship-holders from secondary schools who are being trained for leadership at the public expense. The Governor, in the opening speech, said that the college gave the youth of Nigeria a chance of equipping themselves to fill those posts to which they are entitled to aspire in the near future. At present professional training, which is being given in civil engineering, medicine, teaching, and agriculture, is essentially practical, though designed on the theoretical side to reach gradually the level of British universities. As the secondary school work improves they intend to make it possible for men and women to get at the college external degrees of a British university. In medicine, for example, assistant medical officers capable of working effectively under expert control will be the first product. Within the next few years it is hoped that such officers will proceed to a diploma examination which will entitle them, with the recognition of the British Medical Council, to practise as registered medical practitioners. In all the other departments there will be similar division of the course into lower and higher standards. The three years' course for secondary school teachers will produce men and women who have specialised in a particular subject of instruction and will be competent to take work entrusted at present to European teachers.

Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone represents a very different type of institution. It is the oldest

higher education institution in tropical Africa, having been established by mission agency in 1827. In 1876 it was affiliated to Durham University under a special arrangement made by that university not only with this college but also with Codrington College in the British West Indies. It is under the joint control of the Christian Mission Society and Methodist Missionary Society and provides courses for the Durham University arts and science degrees and for its diplomas in theology and teaching. The last recorded number of students was 30, of whom one was from a tribe in the Protectorate. Two or three students graduate in the Durham University every year. The college also trains teachers for elementary school work in the colony. Though handicapped by lack of funds, the college has played an important part in the provision of government servants and leaders in the education and social work of the local churches. It has followed, so far, more or less conventional English university lines, and the question of closer adaptation to local needs is under consideration.

The Prince of Wales College, Achimota, in the Gold Coast, is for many reasons unique not only in that part of the world but in the British Empire. The bringing of the college into being was the work of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Mr. Alec Fraser, and "Aggrey of Africa." In its Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the Gold Coast found the right man, a man of vision, at the right time when there was large revenue surplus. Setting aside a capital endowment of half a million pounds and

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an annual endowment of £60,000 for the institution, he intended it to be an educational model and power-house for West Africa; he called in Mr. Fraser and Dr. Aggrey to help him in the elaboration. The first six members of the staff arrived in October, 1924, and at the beginning of 1926, with some increase in staff, they started a kindergarten and the training of teachers. The buildings were opened in January 1927, and, though they were not complete till 1929, the strength of the college had risen by its first inspection in 1932 to 500 pupils in all stages from infants to the university classes, forty per cent paying fees, which are high, and sixty per cent holding scholarships, gathered in from every class of society, from paramount chiefs and members of the legislative council to domestic servants. The buildings and grounds, covering two square miles, are on rising ground six miles north of Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast. There are nine boarding-houses, and residence is compulsory.

The management of this valuable property and comprehensive educational enterprise has been handed over by the Government to the College Council. Of the council members half must by statute be Africans. An African majority on the council is probable, and all its members could be Africans. Provision is made for representation of government by four nominees, one of whom must be the director of education, for representation of the staff, for the inclusion of at least one woman, for a mission representative, and for representatives of the old students. An annual grant from public

funds—£48,000 at present—is guaranteed by an act of the legislature, which also prescribes periodic inspection by a committee appointed by the Governor and the annual submission of an audited financial statement. The handing over of this responsibility to a council thus composed, with these simple and unobtrusive safeguards, has been rightly described as an amazingly generous act which shows deep confidence in the people of the country.

The following account of the college is extracted from the report of the Inspection Committee in 1932. There has been no radical change in the policy of the college since then, though there has been considerable development of many of its features, particularly on the agricultural and engineering sides and in the sphere of arts and crafts. The filling out of what are at present only skeleton university courses, and the development of research work, are being planned and will receive the attention of the Inspection Committee which will visit the college in 1938. The students now number 660, of whom 218 are girls. University courses are being taken by 37 students. The engineering course alone is taken up to the degree stage.

"Achimota has a religious basis. Christian teaching and worship form a voluntary, but none the less characteristic and integral, part of its life. The idea of Christian service pervades its activities. Members of the staff are expected to be in sympathy with these ideas. The fullest possible scope is allowed

for such instruction and exercises and safeguards as denominational tendencies may require. This aim is not inconsistent with the welcome extended to students of all religions. The College is used by Mohammedan students as well as by members of all the Christian denominations in West Africa. The voluntary weekday and Sunday services are distinctively Christian but undenominational in character.

"Intellectually, the aim is to provide the kind and quality of education that wise parents in England would like to ensure for their children, though varying from English education in form and content where local conditions require. The fulfilment of this aim involves heavier public expenditure per head than is customary in England, a heavy sacrifice on the part of fee-paying parents and more personal and domestic service from the students than is found in most English institutions of similar grade.

"Achimota hopes to produce a type of student who is 'western' in his intellectual attitude towards life, with a respect for science and capacity for systematic thought, but who remains African in sympathy and desirous of preserving and developing what is deserving of respect in tribal life, custom, rule and law. This African outlook is noticeable in the cultivation of tribal dances as well as in the study of the vernacular languages and the collection and investigation of folk-lore. It is to be found also in the regulations for school dress, in the art teaching, and generally in every phase of the College life.

"The College seeks to combine the acquisition of skill and craftsmanship with the training of the character and acquisition of knowledge. Drawing no line between vocational and humanistic subjects, it requires of the teacher the ability to make each subject, whether craft or literary, contribute to a rational and intelligent enjoyment of life. Special attention is paid to music and the drama, arts and crafts and the development of hobbies.

"On two afternoons every week as well as on Saturday mornings every student of the College secondary classes devotes his time to some form of art or craft, selected by the student according to his liking and capacity from a very wide range, which includes such occupations as printing and cobbling, as well as drawing, painting, and the various kinds of handwork included in the College time-table. This is regarded as part of the scheduled College work and is done under proper supervision and guidance. Consequently, progress in the chosen subject is facilitated, and progress is naturally rapid where each student is doing what he or she likes. But such progress would not in itself justify the very large amount of time devoted, in the classroom and hobby hours taken together, to these essentially cultural (or, as they may appear to some, vocational) subjects. Justification is to be found in two of the main ideas which animate the College. One is that students must be trained and accustomed to use their leisure for the profitable enjoyment of their neighbours and

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themselves. The other is that no student is ever so dull or incompetent as to be unable to find his *métier*, provided that the range of opportunities is wide enough and the stimulants sufficiently varied. It is claimed, and we believe with justice, that some who have found nothing in classroom work to stimulate them or give them ideas for a profession have been enabled by these hobby periods to enter on a line of life that is full of hope and promise.

"Just as the constitution enables Africans to co-operate with Europeans in the control of policy and funds, so in the social life of the staff and the assignment of responsibility no racial distinction is recognised between the African and the European members of the staff. They eat, live, play and work together.

"Achimota teaches the Gold Coast education department much and learns much from it. Its experiments are open to observation, and its results are placed at the disposal of all in its conferences and publications."

It trains teachers for government and mission schools.

Vital to the aims and object of the institution is the model village in which the large menial staff live. Here and in surrounding villages which are by no means model the senior students under staff supervision carry on social service work, run dispensaries and organise co-operative credit societies.

Equally important is the college farm where the

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staff, in co-operation with the agricultural department, carry on important experimental work, and where every student during his time at the college, whatever his subject, puts in one year of practical work.

On the more strictly intellectual side, the college includes university classes taking London University intermediate courses in arts, science, pre-medical science, and degree courses in engineering, secondary classes preparing for the school certificate, a four years' course of general and professional education for the teacher's certificate of the education department, and a primary school with kindergarten classes.

Summarising their impression the inspectors<sup>1</sup> of 1932 expressed their approval of the general aims and their recognition of the wisdom and thoroughness with which those aims have been carried out. They thought that the college would produce the officers that the departments of Government required, and also a type of student likely to help in the agricultural development of the colony. No doubt many ex-students would have to wait for opportunities or create them for themselves. Many might fill posts for which the propriety of such costly training might be questioned. But if the money was forthcoming, the progress made would justify the expenditure. The college was likely to produce the citizen that a progressive country needs.

In East Africa the approach to higher education has

<sup>1</sup> The Inspectors were Dr. Vaughan, late head master of Rugby School, the Director of Education, Nigeria, one of the joint secretaries of the Advisory Committee in Education in the Colonies, and the Commissioner of Ashanti.

hitherto been mainly professional. Makerere College, established in 1922 at Kampala, one of the two chief commercial centres of Uganda, provided for some years post-primary vocational courses for the training of clerical staff and of subordinate officers for the medical, agricultural, public works, and education departments of Uganda and other East African governments that took advantage of its facilities. Though the courses at the start were essentially vocational, the college has always provided for its students the advantages of a residential institution, with all the facilities for corporate life and activities outside the classroom that well-organised schools or colleges for general education provide. A large and well-qualified European staff has been employed. Instruction has been given through the medium of English, and the study of English has always occupied an important place.

More recently several of the vocational courses have been raised to post-secondary status, and courses of definitely lower grade have been transferred elsewhere. The courses for artisans in carpentry and mechanics have been transferred to the local technical school. Simultaneously, a post-primary general education course has been developed.

At the beginning of 1937 there were 210 students, from the four East African dependencies, distributed among the following courses—agricultural and veterinary, medical, engineering, police training, teacher training, and general education (in preparation for the Cambridge School Certificate). In the agricultural,

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veterinary, and medical courses the college provides the basic science teaching, and the relevant government departments are responsible for the professional side of the training. Of the 400 students who have graduated from the college in the fifteen years of its existence, 210 are employed in government departments. The remaining 190 are in the employment of native administrations or in private service, mainly as teachers or clerks.

A commission was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1936 to consider the development of higher education in East Africa. Its members included experts in various kinds of university and university college work in England, as well as persons with experience of educational work, official and non-official, in Africa. The commission visited East Africa in the early part of 1937, and its report was published in the autumn of the same year. Their recommendations are based on the following general principles.

East Africa's primary need is the improvement of health and agriculture, to be achieved by general education and the training in sufficient numbers of qualified African experts.

More generous provision should be made for the education of the future teachers and leaders of Africa. There is at present no risk of creating a class of educated unemployed. Much has to be done before the legitimate demand for more and better facilities for higher education is satisfied.

Facilities are required for training Africans to full

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university standard. To Africans thus trained opportunities must be offered of rising in the service of the Government to posts of the highest responsibility commensurate with their abilities.

Africa is justified in demanding a rapid advance, and is capable of advancing, along lines that can be clearly defined, at a pace far greater than was possible for Europe a hundred years ago.

It is not the task of African education to prevent the Europeanisation of the African, but to interpret to the youth of Africa the higher values of the present world and to enable Africans by adjustment to live without strain in the composite conditions which have been created.

These principles are substantially in accordance with the views of the Advisory Committee on Education which have been described above.

The commission's first task in applying these principles was to estimate the demand of the government departments of the East African dependencies for highly trained African officers. Taking into account the plans for development of the social and economic services, they regarded such officers as additional to, rather than substitutes for, the European staff already employed. With this estimate in view, and with due reference to the prospects of employment in non-official work, they recommended for a period of ten years an annual output of 125 students from a post-secondary education centre, to be raised during the period to full university status.

Expansion and improvement of secondary education

is necessary, not only to ensure an adequate supply of qualified students for such a centre but also to meet the needs and legitimate demands of the peoples of East Africa. Outside Uganda there is at present no fully developed secondary school, and in Uganda Makerere College alone takes students up to what may be considered university entrance stage, though three mission schools are approaching that stage. The commission urged accordingly a vigorous development in Uganda of secondary school facilities for boys, and the institution of similar facilities for girls. Realising that secondary education is based on the primary school system, and having in view their general principle, that the advancement of health and agriculture depend partly on the general education level of the whole population, they examined also the primary school system, and here also recommended a vigorous advance in quantity and quality.

Their recommendations on these subjects are in the main a careful application to local conditions of principles advocated by the Advisory Committee on Education, which have been described above. Admitting the essential need for co-operation between the Government and Christian missions, and recognising the admirable pioneer work, particularly in primary education, of the missions, they stressed at the same time the responsibility of the Government and the need for their taking a more direct and more extensive interest in the provision of sound facilities. In the field of primary education native administrations also

should play a more important part. The work required of Government is to supplement, not to be substituted for, the educational efforts of the missions, which, in return for more generous support from the governments, must raise their general standard of work to the level reached at present only by comparatively few institutions, whose merits are frankly recognised in the report. Unhealthy competition between government and mission schools can and must be avoided. There should be adequate facilities for all kinds of religious instruction and observance, and also freedom to parents to withdraw their children from such instruction.

The higher education courses for which a basis has thus been provided are to be concentrated so far as possible in a university college, which is to have no responsibility for secondary school work. The institution now known as Makerere College will continue and develop its secondary courses as a separate secondary school. The commission testified to the excellence of its work in both secondary and post-secondary work, but had no hesitation in recommending that its post-secondary work should be raised to a higher plane, and concentrated in a centre responsible for no other kind of work. The residential college to be established near the present site of Makerere and in the neighbourhood of Kampala is to comprise departments of arts and science, agriculture and veterinary science, medicine, engineering and education. The arts and science courses will at the outset be taken in their entirety mainly by students who will pass after training in the

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education department into the teaching profession. But a portion at least of these courses will be taken also by those who are being prepared for the other professional courses. There should be a science course leading up to the various kinds of professional training. A general course in arts or science, or both, is also suggested, to meet the needs of those who contemplate careers, as, for instance, in the numerous kinds of native administration service, which require no highly specialised training. In this faculty there should also be a department of African languages, culture, and economics, which would be specially useful for future administrative officers.

For the professional courses full use should be made of the research and experimental stations and schools already established by the various social service and technical departments. All of these, with the exception of the veterinary station, are near the proposed site of the college. The medical school has already a well established reputation. Its work approaches university degree standard.

A staff such as an English university would engage for teaching work is postulated for the college. Gradually every course should be raised to full university status, the time taken for such elevation depending on the urgency of the need for highly trained employees, and on the progress already made in the various subjects. Medicine, agriculture, and teacher training are likely to take precedence. Though the establishment of a degree-conferring autonomous university should

be the goal, attainable in the not too distant future, the institution must pass through the university college stage, in which it is hoped that it will receive the same help and considerate treatment from the University of London as has been accorded by that university in its examination facilities for institution in West Africa. It is important that the *standard* of the degree courses should be equivalent to that of English university courses. It is equally important that their *content* should be adapted to local needs and conditions.

If equivalence of standard in courses is to be maintained, the qualifications of students admitted to the courses must be as high as those required for admission to post-secondary courses in England. Here again equivalence of standard does not mean identity of secondary courses. In order to ensure adaptation of secondary school courses and secondary school examinations to local needs, the commission recommended the establishment of an East African schools examination board. Fully recognising the readiness of English examining bodies to meet local requirements, it was inclined to think that no external body could adequately satisfy such requirements.

The commission was well aware that the effective and vivid university teaching which they postulate "can only be carried out in an atmosphere of investigation and by teachers who are themselves seeking to increase the general store of knowledge." More particularly in the field of African studies, local flora and fauna, languages, cultures, and history, the staff should

be so constituted as to give a lead and attract research workers from the outside world. There should be close co-operation between such research work and the scientific work of government technical departments.

It has been objected by some that the commission concentrated attention too rigidly on vocational training and utilitarian aims. It is true that they were concerned primarily with the production of workers technically equipped for the social and economic services on which the material development of the country depends. But their report makes it clear that they have much more than *material* development in view and also that they fully appreciate the need for a sound and "humane" general education basis for all vocational training. They saw the danger of producing men who are nothing but specialists, and the need in all professions for breadth of view, vision, and sound judgment. Though this is particularly important in the teaching profession, for which ample provision is made in the arts and science course proposals, the stress laid by the commission on preparatory courses of a general nature for those contemplating specialised training in other professions is significant. Facilities in the college for religious instruction and observance in conformity with the requirements and previous upbringing of the students are also postulated. These proposals for higher education have been supported, in their broad outlines, by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies and approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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The ultimate constitution of the college and its relations to the Government, if it follows the lines laid down by the commission, will be of a kind familiar to those who have studied the growth of modern universities and university colleges in England. Like Achimota, it will be autonomous and financially independent of Government, in the sense that it will not depend primarily from year to year on such provision as the Government may be able and see fit to provide in its Budget. It will depend essentially on a trust fund to be formed out of a liberal endowment from the East African governments and private or corporation benefaction; it will depend also on its fees and on annual grants from the Government, such as the Government of the United Kingdom gives to universities. A hope is expressed that native administration treasuries and the Imperial Government may also contribute to the trust fund. Responsibility for the administration of the proceeds of this fund will rest primarily with the executive body of the university, the Council, whose annual reports will be considered by the governing body, the Assembly, which will be responsible for settling broad questions of policy. Purely academic bodies will deal with questions of courses and college discipline and life. The work of all these bodies will be reviewed periodically by inspectors appointed by the Secretary of State, who will nominate members to the Assembly and Council. The importance of African representation on these bodies is emphasised.

The commission estimated the capital expenditure

involved by their college proposals at £170,000, and the recurrent expenditure at £37,000. Of this £8,000 is expected from fees, and £13,000 represents expenditure for which the Uganda Government is now responsible, and in respect of which it would make a corresponding grant to the college. The balance of £16,000 would have to be met from the trust fund, which means an endowment of £500,000. The total sum required, including capital outlay, is consequently £670,000. It is a large sum, but considerably less than what the establishment and maintenance of Achimota College has involved. It must be noted, however, that the commission estimates the cost of necessary improvement in the primary, vocational, and secondary education of Uganda as £50,000 per annum, exclusive of capital expenditure. This represents an increase on present recurrent expenditure of about 60 per cent.

It will be seen, therefore, that higher education in Nigeria is proceeding, and higher education in East Africa is being planned to proceed, more or less along the lines indicated by the Advisory Committee in its memorandum. The professional courses are likely to predominate and will gradually be brought up to university standard. Achimota, though strong on the professional side, keeps cultural aims more definitely and prominently in view. Fourah Bay limits its professional work to the training of teachers. Co-operation between the West African colleges and co-ordination of their activities with reference to the needs of West Africa as a whole are recognised as desirable aims.

There is clearly no risk of the professional aspects of higher education in Africa being overlooked. We may expect confidently its co-ordination with the social, economic, industrial and commercial life of the various communities and with the various activities of the government and native administrations. We may count also on the training of Africans for posts of high administrative responsibility and on an intimate connection between higher education and a policy for gradual increase of training of African officers in the more responsible posts.

There is a less widely recognised aspect of higher education which needs emphasis, not because it can escape attention but because in countries where higher education is still in its infancy there is an almost inevitable tendency to underrate its importance. In such countries, those who are planning higher education are apt to concentrate attention mainly on the training of men and women for employment which the present condition of the country, and plans for its immediate development, provide. There is a tendency which, though natural, is capable of perversion, to guard against a surplus production of graduates which may stimulate unrest and discontent.

It is for this reason that we must remember an essential function of universities, rightly emphasised to-day in European countries which still attach importance to the full expression of intelligent and informed public opinion. This function was described by Professor Ernest Barker, in *The Times* of 14th May 1936:

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"Universities do not exist only, or mainly, to train young men and women for employment, or to find them employment when they have been trained. They have a higher function—to train their students generally, and without indoctrinating them in any particular brand of partisan doctrine, in some sort of philosophy of life, which will enable them to do their duty to the community and to fulfil their station in its system faithfully and soberly. In these troubled days, when all the old stars seem to be falling out of the skies, it is more than ever the duty of universities to stimulate and train men to think—not, of course, necessarily to think alike, but at least to think, and to think strenuously, about the great issues of right and wrong, of liberty and government, on which, both for the individual and for the community, a balanced judgment is essential to a rational life.

. . . . .

"We always have had, in this country, a general idea—not perhaps very clear, but yet tenaciously held—that education in general, and university education in particular, was not merely a training of intelligence, but a training of the whole man (body and character as well as intelligence) in a whole and general way of life. We have now to make this idea, already tenacious, something which is also clear and conscious. There are many things which have to be done in the process; and perhaps

the greatest service which the University Grants Committee renders to our universities, in this latest of its reports, is that of drawing attention clearly to some of the main things which lie before them. There is, for instance, the matter of promoting physical culture—not merely competitive games, to which we run so readily and so instinctively, but something more in the nature of the old Greek ‘gymnastic’ which sought to make the body a fit and trained tool of a fit and trained mind and character. There is again the matter of methods of instruction—a matter which raises the issue of personal tuition as compared with the method of mass lecturing. Again there is the matter of the curriculum of our Honours courses—so specialized, as the result of recent developments, that they seem to produce not whole men, but parts or fractions of a man. This is one of the gravest issues which confront our universities to-day.”

If Africa is to avoid in the process of growth the growing pains that have distressed India and are bringing distress elsewhere in the East, its universities or university colleges have an important part to play in the formation of public opinion and in the production of citizens with a capacity for intelligent criticism, able to discern what is true and false in the propaganda to which they will be exposed and the essential features of public questions that arise. We shall not get this kind of citizenship merely by increasing the number of

specialised workers. Public opinion is not formed by the impact of engineer on doctor or of agricultural expert on lawyer, but by discussion between men and women who have some measure of liberal education and some chance of culture according to Matthew Arnold's interpretation of that term: "getting to know on all matters which concern us the best which has been thought and said in the world and, through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits."

The danger of over-specialization and premature specialisation must be avoided, the possibility of combining some measure of liberal education with every kind of professional training must be considered, provision must be made for general courses of study not definitely connected with any one profession or confined to any one subject or group of subjects. For such professions as the teaching profession such general courses would be useful. It is arguable that such a general course, leading perhaps to specialised work on local economics or sociology, would be the best training for responsible administrative or secretarial work. But the primary aim of such courses should surely be the production of intelligent citizens, and if the courses are rightly devised the greater the number of those who take them the better for the country as a whole.

One other essential feature of university life is admittedly some provision for research. In Indian universities recently the need for research provision has been over-emphasised, with occasional detriment

to the equally important need for citizenship training. On the other hand, Indian universities suffered greatly for fifty years from the complete absence of such provision. Few would deny the desirability of training for citizenship being conducted in an atmosphere of research, provided by disinterested scholars to whom the search for truth and the advancement of knowledge are the main aims.

Materials for research work likely to yield early and useful results and to kindle the imagination of students would not be far to seek in any African university. It is hoped that the claims of African sociology and anthropology, African law, African art, and African music will receive attention and that in the course of time African scholars, jointly at work on such subjects, will contribute to the study of their own peoples.

#### (e) THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

In Africa, perhaps more than in most other parts of the world, it can be said that to educate a woman is to educate a family. In recognition of this obvious, but in practice often forgotten, fact the Advisory Committee in its 1925 statement devoted a considerable portion of their memorandum to the subject.

"It is obvious that better education of native girls and women in tropical Africa is urgently needed, but it is almost impossible to over-state the delicacy and difficulties of the problem. Much has already

been done, some of it wise, some of it, as we now see, unwise. More should be done at once (not least in regard to the teaching of personal domestic hygiene), but only those who are intimately acquainted with the needs of each colony and, while experienced in using the power of education, are also aware of the subtlety of its social reactions, can judge what it is wise to attempt in each of the different dependencies.

"We are impressed by the fact that mere generalisations on the subject are not needed and may be misleading. In regard to the education of its girls and women, tropical Africa presents not one problem, but many. Differences in breed and in tribal tradition should guide the judgment of those who must decide what it is prudent to attempt. (a) Clever boys, for whom higher education is expedient, must be able to look forward to educated mates. (b) The high rate of infant mortality in Africa, and the unhygienic conditions which are widely prevalent make instruction in hygiene and public health, in the care of the sick and the treatment of simple diseases, in child welfare and in domestic economy, and the care of the home, among the first essentials, and these, wherever possible, should be taught by well-qualified women teachers. (c) Side by side with the extension of elementary education for children, there should go enlargement of educational opportunities for adult women as well as for adult men. Otherwise there may be a breach between the generations, the children losing much that the old traditions might

have given them, and the representatives of the latter becoming estranged through their remoteness from the atmosphere of the new education. To leave the women of a community untouched by most of the manifold influences which pour in through education, may have the effect either of breaking the natural ties between the generations or of hardening the old prejudices of the elder women. Education is a curse rather than a blessing if it makes women discontented or incompetent. But the real difficulty lies in imparting any kind of education which has not a disintegrating and unsettling effect upon the people of the country. The hope of grappling with this difficulty lies in the personality and outlook of the teachers.

"Female education is not an isolated problem, but is an integral part of the whole question and cannot be separated from other aspects of it."

Official and mission reports and the accounts given by impartial observers such as Professor Julian Huxley and, more recently, Dr. Phelps Stokes show that during the last ten years considerable progress has been made along the lines indicated in this statement. At the same time, the work accomplished for girls and women still lags behind what has been accomplished for boys and men, and the share of Government in such work is still very small.<sup>1</sup> Since 1931 it has suffered more perhaps than male education from the financial slump; we do

<sup>1</sup> The figures given in the table on p. 186 are significant.

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not yet seem to have learnt the lesson which India teaches us, that the education of women is really more important than that of men. The difficulties have not been so great as in India owing to the absence of caste and other social restrictions. African women generally play a far more important and less secluded part in the life of the whole community than in India.

*Enrolment of Boys and Girls in Schools in British Tropical Africa*

Dependency			Boys	Girls
The Gambia	..	..	1,422	757
Sierra Leone	..	..	14,570	6,512
Gold Coast ..	..	..	48,285	15,181
Nigeria ..	..	..	203,688	44,918
Uganda ..	..	..	20,832	5,478
Kenya ..	..	..	68,768	31,218
Tanganyika Territory	..	..	28,530	2,065
Zanzibar ..	..	..	3,212	1,056
Nyasaland ..	..	..	111,059	82,080
Northern Rhodesia	..	..	18,908	8,150

The figures relate to African pupils only, except in Zanzibar, where they include Arabs and Indians. The figures in Uganda and Tanganyika Territory relate only to Government and assisted schools.

Outside as well as in the home a definite place is assigned to her in tribal life and work, though the kind of work varies greatly according to locality. Often a wife receives her own share of produce and profits. She is by no means a domestic slave, and individualism may be said to be growing in the household. Undoubtedly we are laying, as we did not lay in India, sound foundations and there is need for caution. But even in a difficult area such as Mohammedan Northern

Nigeria one cannot help feeling that the establishment of a girls' school need not have been deferred till after the end of thirty years' of British influence. There can be no doubt that there is growing keenness for women's education among many sections of the African community. This was made clear by native witnesses from Kenya before the Joint Parliamentary Committee from East Africa, 1930. The recent establishment of girls' schools in Northern Nigeria was a response to a local demand. A recent Mandates Commission's Report refers to the growing popularity of girls' schools in Tanganyika Territory.

The conduct of women's education is left mainly to missions.<sup>1</sup> The governments feel not only that missions can give the religious foundations which women's education pre-eminently requires, but also that the European women employed in mission work have special opportunities of getting to know African women as they really are and of adapting education to their requirements. Though in West Africa, where progress has been much greater, there are several government schools, as also in Mohammedan areas, which have not yet reconciled themselves to mission activities, the work of the Government is mainly confined to grants in aid and the employment of women competent to inspect and to promote by their advice the work of mission schools. There is clearly room for a far more extensive use of such women. The total number of

<sup>1</sup> Except in provision for Mohammedan communities. There is an excellent government school for Arab girls in Zanzibar.

European women employed by the government education departments for African women's education work in British Tropical Africa is very small. It must be remembered, of course, that very many mission ladies are engaged in this work and that in recent years missions have recruited well-qualified ladies for this work and paid much attention to their training.

Special attention is being paid to the training of teachers. In the Jeanes schools, and in some other training establishments, wives accompany teachers when they go for training for supervision work. In practically all the schools household craft plays a very important part. In Sierra Leone, for instance, domestic science is taught in all girls' schools and receives special attention in the training institution. For more specialised work there is a domestic science centre, and for the last local examination in domestic science there were eighty entries. Hygiene based on an elementary science course in which the biological sciences are emphasised is also receiving increased attention. Recently there have been, in several centres, and noticeably in the mission centres of Tanganyika and the London Mission school at Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia,<sup>1</sup> attempts to bring women's education into line with tribal customs. According to African ideas, the education of girls as well as of boys is by a system of age groups. When an age group reaches an age at which the members can become full members of the

<sup>1</sup> Well known to the many readers of *God's Candles*, Mabel Shaw. Edinburgh House Press.

tribe, initiation ceremonies take place and these are preceded by a period of special tuition relating to the customs and the duties and significance of married life. For all this the older women of the tribe are responsible. It is felt by many that while there is much which is grossly superstitious, harmful and even cruel in some of these ceremonies, and in this tuition, there is much that is socially of great value and deserving of development on Christian lines. Experiments which are being made in such development show that in this way the sympathy of the older generation can be secured, and their intense conservatism, which is otherwise an obstacle to progress, can be converted into an agency of progress.

Regarding the inclusion of English in the course there is considerable difference of opinion. But few would deny that a woman in the home who can read English may be the means of raising the whole standard of family culture and life. There is another kind of work often to be found in process at African girls' schools which may surprise those who do not know African conditions, namely, work in the school gardens and agricultural plots attached to schools. African traditions and history have quite naturally assigned to women much work outside the home. Tribes whose men were mainly engaged in hunting and fighting naturally left the more peaceful pursuits of agriculture and industry to women, and consequently even to-day large portions of this work are still regarded as women's work. Attempts to teach pottery, for instance, in boys' schools

have often led to a protest that this is women's work. Most school authorities have wisely decided against any attempt to wean women from such occupations—for the present anyhow. Physically, there is no reason to suppose that they are harmful. African women who retire from an active outdoor life would have leisure which they have not yet learnt to use, and if they cease to be food producers, they might lose status and prestige.

In view of the small progress in quantity, if not quality, made in the mass education of girls it may seem premature to discuss their higher education. The Advisory Committee paid particular attention to women in its 1933 memorandum on African higher education. It pointed out that, while it is possible for African men to proceed overseas for university education, it is usually impossible and generally undesirable for their women to do so. The claims of African women to university education are entitled to equal attention with those of men, but action must be taken only in closest co-operation with the African communities concerned and in accordance with their advice. Regarding the openings for women who have enjoyed higher education there is considerable difference of opinion even in West Africa. In Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast a real need is felt for them in government service, commerce and the professions, whereas Nigeria reports that, apart from teaching and nursing, it is difficult to provide remunerative work for those who have gone beyond the elementary stage. So long, however, as

African girls' schools demand an ever-increasing number of qualified women, and so long as African homes require an infinitely greater number of properly educated mothers, there need be no anxiety about over-production. On the other hand, it is recognised that the greatest caution is necessary to avoid excessive strain, particularly by the intrusion of any external and unnecessary examination system. Statistically, progress in higher education is disappointing, even in West Africa. In Gambia and Sierra Leone the number of girls in post-primary instruction approximates more or less to those of boys, but in the Gold Coast while 60 boys qualified in 1935 for the Cambridge Certificate at the end of a secondary school course, only 5 girls were successful. While 73 men qualified for teaching certificates, only 28 women reached the same stage. In Nigeria, only 6 girls got the Cambridge Certificate in 1934, and there were no candidates in 1935. In East and Central Africa there is no secondary education for girls. In Northern Rhodesia the highest number of women who have qualified in any year for the lowest grade of Teacher's Certificate is 7.

It is again to Achimota that we must look for the most encouraging signs of progress. In that college, 218 girls are studying. Six girls completed the full teachers' training course in 1935. There are 14 girls in the secondary classes, of whom most will undoubtedly complete the secondary course and some will go on to the university classes. The progress made since 1927, when girls were first taken, is surprising. Achimota

was not the first institution to encourage co-education. Elsewhere in tropical Africa, co-education is often quite a common feature of day schools. But only in one or two institutions, and then experimentally, has co-education been adopted in residential institutions. Achimota believes that African boys and girls by common classwork and by sharing in appropriate school activities can learn much from one another and cultivate relations which are socially and individually wholesome. Girls sing in the choir, play in the orchestra, act in the plays and join in the tribal dances, besides joining boys in all class instruction. The experiment was an act of courage, but without over-anxiety or ostentatious watchfulness there has, so far, been no cause for scandal or even alarm. The inspectors thought that the relations between boys and girls will greatly be improved as their numbers increase and as some among them reach the higher stages of the college. The girls as a whole will then exercise more influence and individual girls will not attract, by their intelligence or success, too much attention.

Finally, it is fully realised that with women as with men education must not be confined to the school. If we are to aim at community welfare there must be lectures and practical demonstration in infant welfare, maternity work, housecraft and so on for those who have left school as well as for those who have never been to school, not only for the actual improvement of the home, but in order to keep the older generation in

sympathetic touch with the younger. Very much work is already done on these lines which does not appear in educational statistics or reports.

#### (f) SOME FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Those who study African education statistics which, taken by themselves, are very far from comforting, must remind themselves that though on the West African coast the British Government have been responsible for education in some areas for 100 years and everywhere for at least 35 years, even in West Africa there are vast hinterlands inhabited by primitive tribes where direct British influence has only recently been felt. Nowhere in East Africa have we officially been at work for more than 35 years, and in many areas our activities date from after the War. Secondly, it must be remembered that our educational work extends far beyond the efforts of the education departments with whose figures we are here concerned. They would be far more impressive if we added to them the numbers affected and the money spent by the medical, agricultural and other departments, part of whose social service work is definitely instructive.

The percentage of school enrolment to estimated population of school age in all the dependencies warns us that the task in prospect is huge; we are still at the beginning. The figures can no doubt bear comparison with French, Belgian, and South African figures. But they are none the less frightening.

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The impression conveyed superficially by the figures that East and Central Africa are on the whole farther advanced than West Africa would be removed if figures for the coastal area of West Africa which has been longest under British rule could be shown separately. In that large and densely populated area primary education has advanced quite as far as in the most advanced parts of Uganda and Nyasaland, and post-primary work has gone far beyond what has been possible in any part of East Africa except Uganda. The advance of primary education in Uganda, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia has been largely due to Christian missions, whose education work was well established before official action began comparatively a few years ago.

Literacy figures cannot, unfortunately, be given. In the few dependencies where an effort has been made to collect them they are unreliable. But in one of the most advanced dependencies, the Gold Coast colony, the 1931 census showed that only 35,418 natives, or 1·5 per cent of the population, had completed the full elementary school course. It was recognised that completion of that course was not a necessary condition of literacy.

In East and Central Africa outside Uganda no institution offers a complete secondary school course preparing for university or professional studies. In Nigeria, with a population of 20 millions, only 1,025 pupils are enrolled in secondary classes, and in the Gold Coast, with a population of over 3 millions, only 629

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are enrolled in secondary schools, many of whom are in the primary department.

We must also remember that as education advances it tends to become under African conditions far less costly per pupil educated. The proportion of Europeans in the higher posts can be reduced by employment of qualified Africans at a far smaller cost. And as the numbers in each institution and in each class of an institution rise the proportion of total staff to total number of pupils will fall.

At present the cost to Government per pupil in British Tropical Africa is high compared with the cost in some dependencies. In the Gold Coast, for instance, the cost to Government per pupil in government primary schools is £7 4s., and in mission schools, £4 7s., as compared with similar cost to Government in India of about ten to twelve shillings and in the British West Indies of £1 5s. 8d.

In the Gold Coast aided secondary schools the cost to Government per pupil is £33 7s. against £2 14s. in India. The total expenditure per secondary school pupil from all sources in India is not as much as the corresponding expenditure by the Gold Coast Government, and the total cost per primary school pupil in India does not amount to one-third of what the Gold Coast Government alone spends.

This high cost per head is a necessary result of our African policy, born of bitter experience in India; a policy of caution and firm foundations, advancing gradually from a few selected and well-equipped centres

in slowly widening circles, secondary education being restricted with reference to local demand and the more urgent claims of primary education.

Though there has been no effective criticism of these principles, their mode of application is always open to criticism. Some think that in primary education we could save something from our admittedly heavy expenditure on central schools and training schools and spend it on subsidising, for extension purposes, a system of cheap schools which aim at little more than the three R's, in order that the number of literates capable of profiting from the ministrations and pamphlets of the technical departments may grow more rapidly. There are, in fact, some thousands of such schools, bush schools, in existence already, usually taught by some ex-pupil of a mission school, who has gone little farther than the handful of pupils he instructs, but who, in lonely places with little support or guidance, is doing his best. As a rule these schools are not aided by the Government. In some dependencies they are regarded with disfavour as giving only what is superficial and, therefore, dangerous. It is, however, arguable that at an expenditure per pupil trifling in comparison with the average expenditure at present they could be so improved as anyhow to raise substantially the rate of progress in literacy.

The risk of expansion at the cost of efficiency occupies perhaps too prominent a place in the official mind. It is, for instance, always emphasised when the question of compulsory school attendance is raised.

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may finally be introduced. Even this moderate measure of compulsion is opposed on the grounds that in the selected area compulsion would result in a large attendance for which a larger staff and consequently, with existing funds, a less efficient staff would have to be employed. Another argument, hardly consistent with this, is that already the demand for education is so great that any school which is opened can be filled at once. A demand for education is very difficult to assess. Undoubtedly there are, even in the most backward areas, prominent chiefs and tribesmen who are genuinely keen. In towns and their neighbourhood where knowledge is popularly known to mean power, and the possibility of making money, it is seldom difficult to get the classes filled. But even in such areas attendance is often irregular and the school life very short.

It is sometimes said that the general willingness to pay school fees is a sign that education is popular. In some dependencies, and particularly in West Africa, school fees form quite a handsome contribution to school funds. If attendance were enforced it would still be possible and consistent with African ideas to exact fees from all who can afford to pay. But it is certain that in a voluntary system the increase of fees in the higher stage often leads to withdrawal of a pupil before he has completed the course.

Of expansion at the cost of efficiency there need be no fear. From its earliest days the Advisory Committee has advocated a sound training of teachers as the

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keystone of an educational structure, and education departments have shaped their course accordingly. We have mentioned already many results of their efforts. It may be noted here that a statistical survey some years ago revealed in British Tropical Africa 120 training institutions of various grades, but mostly with a strong rural bias. Most of them were the creation of the last ten years. There has been further increase in the last few years. In Uganda the output annually of trained teachers was 21 in 1926. Now it exceeds 600 from training schools of various grades with more than 1,500 students. There are in most dependencies central classes for teachers, vacation courses, and refresher courses. There are several excellent teachers' journals full of information and advice. In three dependencies supervisors, trained in the *Jeannes* schools, are engaged regularly in the instruction of village teachers and communities.

The training of teachers is linked up on the one hand with institutions for higher education; Achimota, Fourah Bay, Makerere, and Yaba all have their training departments, and there need be no fear of education as a subject being neglected in African universities as they develop. On the other hand, they are linked up with the central or middle school, the community school with a vocational bias, which is a cardinal feature of our system. From these schools come, at present, the majority of our elementary school-teachers, and in many of them there is a special department for teachers' training.

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Finally, it must be noted that recent figures, though depressing in themselves, testify, when compared with those of past years, to substantial and often surprising progress. In the Gold Coast where there are now more than 63,000 pupils, there were in 1881 only 500, and in 1900 only 12,000. Government's expenditure on education was only £1,325 in 1881, but £224,711 in 1935, exclusive of expenditure on buildings. Nigeria had, in 1903, an education department of five Europeans, responsible for expenditure of less than £10,000. In 1935-6 more than 100 European officers spent over £231,000. The estimate for 1937-8 is over £274,000. Nyasaland has advanced its expenditure from £300 in 1924 to more than £17,000 in 1936. In Uganda, the Government's expenditure has risen in fifteen years from £800 or one per cent of the revenue to £82,373 or 4·8 per cent of the revenue. To this must be added nearly £20,000 spent by local authorities. Advances elsewhere are on similar lines.

The pace of advance is necessarily set by the revenue, and this, as shown in our first chapter, is per head of population very small in comparison with that of more highly developed countries. The educational expenditure per head of population and the percentage of revenue devoted to education are also comparatively small. As a country advances economically, and as its revenue grows, the pace of educational advance quickens. If in the last 30 years the pace of increase in the Gold Coast has been 300 per cent, it may well be 500 per cent or more in the next 50 years. But the

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appropriate percentage of revenue for educational purposes ought to be more scientifically examined.<sup>1</sup> And more account could be taken of the fact that money spent on sound education is productive expenditure and well invested.

<sup>1</sup> The Advisory Committee on Education is now considering the lines on which systematic investigation of the financial problem of education, with special reference to its extension among the masses, should proceed.

## II

### BRITISH MALAYA

BRITISH MALAYA consists of the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States. With the last of these groups we are not here concerned. The relations of the Unfederated States to the British Government bear some slight resemblance to the relations between the Indian states and the Government of India. The analogy cannot be pressed, and the influence brought to bear by the British Government on educational development in these Malay States is certainly stronger than has as a rule been exercised by the British Government in Indian states. But the Government is not directly responsible for their educational policy or administration, and, as we are concerned primarily with British educational policy, we shall leave them out of account, merely noting that Johore, the most important of these states, has an education system and policy adapted to local conditions, but resembling in its aims and achievements the system and policy for which the British Government is responsible. The superintendents of education in these states are officers of the Malayan Education Service, seconded for the purpose.

The Straits Settlements consist mainly of three important seaports, Singapore, Penang and Malacca, with about a thousand square miles of adjoining territory. Other areas included in the colony came under

British control, mainly by cession, between 1786 and 1874; Cocos Islands and Christmas Island were added subsequently; the three most important towns were in our hands by 1819. They were administered by the East India Company as long as that company administered India, were transferred to British Government control in 1858 and became a Crown Colony in 1867.

The four Federated Malay States, with an area of 28,000 square miles, have been under British influence resulting from treaties since 1870. They were formed into a federation of states with a federal council in 1895. Though their constitutional status is different from that of the Straits Settlements, and though a difference in local conditions in some cases demands differential educational treatment, it is unnecessary to distinguish them sharply for the purposes of this survey. The Director of Education in the Straits Settlements is Adviser in Education in the Malay States. Officers of the Malayan Education Department may serve in either area.

The table on page 204 relates to the non-European population and its constituent elements.

The percentage of the immigrant races, Chinese and Indian, has grown steadily since immigration began. In the various professions, and in industrial and commercial occupations, industry and enterprise are giving the Chinese a predominant position among the non-European races. Though many come and go, the percentage of permanently settled Chinese is growing. Indian immigration began with indentured labour for the planters' estates. This has been abolished for some

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years, but immigration continues. They are mainly Tamils from South India, employed on estates, and also playing their part in subordinate government service and in commerce. The Malays, who profess Islam, are agriculturists who cultivate their own lands assiduously and are skilled in village industries, which are capable of further development if the right kind of training is applied. They are temperamentally unfitted

Non-European Population	Percentage of Total Population		
	(a) Chinese	(b) Malay	(c) Indian
S.S. 1,114,000	59	26	11
F.M.S. 1,707,000	41	25	22
U.F.M.S. 1,695,000	27	66	7

for work on the large estates and for industrial or commercial work in the large seaport towns, which are now Chinese rather than Malay in character. Full of charm and with considerable artistic ability, with strong and well-developed social traditions, they are not politically minded; they are lacking in ambition, though tenacious where village and communal rights are concerned, and unable to hold their own in spheres of occupation invaded by the more enterprising Chinese.

With important seaports, situated on world trade

routes, and with a hinterland rich in minerals, rubber, and other agricultural produce, and in timber, British Malaya is potentially among the most favoured countries of the world. The revenue, dependent on the world markets, varies with the rise and fall of world prices and was greatly affected by the crisis of 1931. Trade is facilitated by excellent communications and more particularly by admirable roads. The climate is warm and moist, with no extreme heat and no cold or bracing season, healthy as compared with West Africa, and far better adapted to European residence. Its actual and potential wealth, variety of industries, and mixture of races make Malaya a fascinating study for the student of education and an admirable field for educational experiment.

The Straits Settlements came under the control of the East India Company at the time when the Company, under Parliamentary pressure, was assuming responsibility for education within its territories. Even before Bentinck and Macaulay had decided on an essentially western education for India the Company had founded a free English school in Penang, and Sir Stamford Raffles, to whom we owe Singapore, had established there the English teaching institution which still bears his name.<sup>1</sup> Many years were to elapse before the distinct claims of vernacular education and the adaptation of schools to local needs and conditions were to receive attention. Up to 1870 there was, in fact, no policy, beyond a vague recognition of the value of

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with Raffles College. See p. 216.

English and of such arts as were required for assisting commerce and the work of government. In that year, sixteen years after a similar step was taken in India, and three years after the Settlement became a Crown Colony, the formation of an education department was decreed, but it was not until 1901 that a Director of Education took the place of the Inspector of Schools, who had been dealing single-handed with the work of organisation. Differentiation of curricula then received more attention. In 1916, an Assistant Director was appointed to take charge of Malay vernacular education, the importance of which, in view of the volume of immigration, was coming to be fully realised. In 1919 the creation of a chief inspectorship of English schools testified to the rapid growth of this sharply distinguished type of institution. Since then the importance of arts and crafts, physical training, and Chinese education has found recognition in the appointment of officers responsible for these spheres. Vocational training has been established in trade, technical and agricultural schools. Professional training in medicine has been provided since 1905 and post-secondary education in Raffles College since 1928.

As in so many other dependencies, missions preceded the British Government in educational work and the policy of subsidiary voluntary agencies was established in the Straits long before an education department came into existence. It has been steadily developed on lines in accordance with the general recommendations of the Advisory Committee, though the principles

were established prior to circulation of that committee's memorandum on the subjects. Extremely generous support is given, the net recurring cost of these schools, on an approved salary and fee scale, being met from public funds. Of the 76 English secondary schools 32 are under aided private management.<sup>1</sup> Practically all these are mission or church schools. Mission activities are mainly confined to secondary schools and to vernacular schools for the Indian community. Malay education is given only in government schools.

The missions are not on the whole in such close touch with the home mission authorities represented on the Advisory Committee as missions in tropical Africa, and are to that extent less influenced by the Committee.

The educational history of the Federated Malay States begins with the creation of a Federal Inspector of Schools in 1893, though some of the states had their own inspectors previous to federation. In 1906 the control of education in all the four states passed from the Federal Inspector to the Director of Education in the Straits Settlements. Though each of the states remains, so far as staff is concerned, a separate education unit, the policy and lines of advance have been hitherto the same for all and similar to those prescribed for the Straits Settlements. The history of development since 1906 is consequently the same as that of the Straits Settlements.

<sup>1</sup> The remaining 44 are maintained by Government. There are also a large number of private and unaided secondary schools.

It is perhaps to Malay vernacular education that we must turn to see the most interesting side of British educational effort in Malaya. Though training of Malay teachers for the work began in 1878, and was extended to the Federated Malay States soon after their federation, the work proceeded "on unimaginative and alien lines," as the departmental history puts it, and English education, which hardly touched the Malay community, preoccupied attention, until in 1916 an officer's visit to the Dutch East Indies and Philippines, and his report thereon, brought new life and ideas. The first step was the establishment in 1922 for the whole of British Malaya of a central training college for Malay teachers at Tanjong Malim in the Federated Malay States. This institution has been steadily developed on lines suggested by the Dutch East Indies work, but consistent with the Advisory Committee's general recommendations; and its three-year course of training, with special reference to rural conditions and Malay village crafts and agricultural methods, is among the best courses of this kind offered in the Colonial Empire. Its isolated situation makes arrangements for practising and model schools difficult. The European assistants have been too few in number and too transitory; contact and co-operation with school inspecting agency are not yet firmly established. None the less, the institution has wrought a great change in Malay village schools and through them is influencing village life. Its literature department, though not so well advertised as the similar department in Java, is producing

the right kind of school books and stimulating Malay literary efforts.

For the inspection of Malay schools there are Malay assistant inspectors, with Malay supervisors and group teachers under them. The group teachers are head masters of central schools responsible for supervising smaller schools in the neighbourhood. For these and for the supervisors systematic training on Jeanes school<sup>1</sup> lines seems desirable. School gardens, mainly fruit and vegetables, are inspected by officers of the agricultural department, which also supplies seeds and advice, and pupils are encouraged to maintain vegetable or fruit crops at their homes. Basketry is taught generally, with increasing attention to pottery and other crafts as the supply of recently trained teachers increases. Practical hygiene is emphasised. The minimum school course covers four years, with a fifth year in central schools where there is a demand for it.

No English is taught in these schools, the chief aim being to stimulate vernacular studies and to concentrate attention on local and village life. Hitherto the Malay population has shown little desire for English education. To stimulate this desire free education has for many years been given in the English secondary schools to Malays who have completed the four-year course, and an intensive course in English is given on entry to English courses, to bring them as soon as possible up to the level of those who have been studying

<sup>1</sup> See p. 120.

English from the earliest stage. There has been an increase in the number of Malay pupils, but it is small in comparison with the increase in Chinese and Indian pupils. Lack of ambition and a fear that even after a secondary education they will not hold their own with other races in competition for more responsible posts are perhaps deterrents.

Whatever the causes, it is certain that western and English education, for good or ill, is producing fewer changes in Malay life than in that of the other races. Mission influence is also lacking. It would be unjust to say that Malay society is static. It has innate dynamic qualities which are intensified by the Malay schools. But it seems likely to grow on essentially oriental lines instead of presenting a synthesis of East and West.

The network of government Malay schools is well spread, and about fourteen per cent of the Malay male population in the Straits Settlements, and twelve per cent in the Federated Malay States is now enrolled in these schools. This is encouraging if the restricted period of compulsory school attendance, four years, is taken into account. No fees are charged. There is statutory compulsion, and fines can be and are locally enforced, though the popularity of the schools makes this seldom necessary. The percentage of attendance is high. Unfortunately, there are no figures showing the number of pupils who actually complete the course, but it is believed that wastage is not great.

The figures for Malay girls are not so good, as is to

be expected in a Mohammedan community. But the last few years have shown a remarkable increase, fostered by the efforts of a European woman supervisor who, despite the inadequacy of her staff, has spread a conviction that useful and domestic arts can be learned in these schools. Under her charge a training institution for women teachers has recently been opened. It is to be hoped that the arrangements for group instruction of employed teachers will not be allowed to lapse, or the need for women inspectors forgotten.

Chinese and Indian vernacular education presents a more difficult problem and is in a far less satisfactory condition. Recently a proposal was made to exclude such education from official support on the grounds that English and Malay were the languages calculated to unite the whole population, and ought to be the only recognised media. This was contrary to the general principle advocated by the Advisory Committee, that the early stages of instruction should be in the mother tongue of the pupil, and the proposal, which met with little local support, was withdrawn. But the difficulties remain and have yet to be faced. There is no effective provision for the training of teachers either in Chinese or Tamil. The management of schools is left almost entirely to private agencies, and the present allotment of funds does not permit more than a small proportion to be brought within the aided system. Though all schools and teachers must be registered, the Chinese administrative and inspecting agency is not large

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enough to exert much influence on more than a few out of the very large number of Chinese schools. An assistant director of Tamil education has recently been appointed. Many of the Chinese schools are maintained as a means of livelihood by teachers. The variety of forms of the Chinese language makes the question of text-books difficult. Many of the books at present are printed and published in Shanghai. The influence of Chinese societies and organisation outside Malaya is sometimes more potent than local official influence, and not always consistent with local principles. The difficulties in Tamil schools are not so great. Teachers and text-books come from British India. For workers on the estates schools are maintained or supported, under regulations, by estate owners.

Post-primary education of a general, as distinct from vocational, character is at present uniform in type and essentially English and western in content. The medium is English throughout, and pupils other than Malay free scholars begin their education in the preparatory departments of the English schools, with no other language than English in use.

Instruction in Indian and Chinese languages is provided in none of these schools, and in Malay in only a few, though pupils can study and present themselves for the certificate examination in these languages. The reason given, and no doubt entitled to respectful consideration, is the polyglot nature of the urban population for which these schools are mainly intended. These difficulties are greater than in polyglot areas in India

where the vernaculars are used. More particularly the varieties of the Chinese language are baffling. In a population such as that of Singapore or Penang the importance of English, commercially and as a uniting factor, is indisputable. It is, however, arguable that the vernaculars might be taught as subjects if not used as media, and that a preparatory course in Tamil or Chinese might be required, or at least offered, as in Malay. The subordination of local languages and neglect of local arts narrows the cultural scope of post-primary education and intensifies its exotic nature.

The comparative results of a vernacular course followed by an intensive English course, as taken by Malays, and of a course studied throughout in English, as by most Chinese and Indians, deserve and are receiving careful study. But so many other factors, racial and individual, have to be taken into account that general conclusions of linguistic or psychological importance have not yet been reached.

The courses followed by these English schools are those prescribed, with reference to English school conditions, by the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate. The First School Certificate is the normal mark of completion of the local school course, though some proceed to the Higher Certificate, and many are content with the Junior Certificate, which in England has no official recognition and is, in fact, officially discouraged. For those who complete the School Certificate course the lower examination involves an unnecessary and undesirable strain. Viewed as a test

of a restricted course complete in itself it is unsatisfactory. For reasons similar to those described in our African survey<sup>1</sup> an external examining body is found necessary to ensure a reasonably high standard. There is no local university or other local examining body, actual or potential, that would command respect and confidence. The Cambridge Syndicate welcomes local modification of its courses, and several changes have been made, for instance, in history and English to meet local needs. Regarded as preparation for commercial or official posts available in the urban centres, the courses are reasonably adequate. Considerable stress has been laid recently on their commercial aspect, and special classes for "commercial subjects" have been added. The charges that are brought against them are similar to those against secondary schools in England. The vocational aptitude which the courses reveal and develop is too limited in scope. Clerical and commercial posts, for which the courses are a very real preparation, are far too few for the number of pupils that complete the course. The learned professions, open to those who complete the college course for which the schools also prepare, are over-stocked. The curriculum, despite its restricted scope, imposes too heavy a strain on the average pupil, heavier than in England owing to the foreign language medium. There is inadequate time for the arts, for manual training, or for other activities essential to an all-round education. Many pupils leave before they

<sup>1</sup> See p. 158.

have completed the course, or reached a stage that has a surrender value.

Conscious of these defects, the Government has contemplated a reduction of the undoubtedly generous secondary school facilities, or at least a reduction of public expenditure on such facilities.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, the alternative of providing several courses, instead of the present uniform course, some of which would aim at predisposing pupils to industrial or agricultural occupations, and develop or at least discover an aptitude for such work. It has been suggested that all the courses might be somewhat simpler, particularly the English course, and more closely related to local life. The need for shortening the minimum school course is not so acute as in Hong Kong, where a heavy Chinese course is superimposed on a western curriculum. But the desirability of making the lower stage of the course as complete in itself as possible has not been left out of account. Already pupils are passing, at the conclusion of this stage, to the recently established trade schools; if the stage is neatly rounded off without loose ends this is a most useful procedure. Courses of the kind referred to above have been suggested by the Advisory Committee and are under local consideration.

Apart from their defective orientation the schools have many laudable features. In staff qualifications, and particularly in the proportion of European

<sup>1</sup> Secondary school fees have been raised recently, but this may be regarded as a mode of reducing expenditure of public funds, rather than as a restrictive measure.

teachers, both Government and aided schools are more fortunate than secondary schools in India. Organised games and the activities of a vigorous school life are provided in most of the schools. Provision for science teaching, sadly neglected for many years, has recently been greatly improved, and an excellent general science course has been prepared. Physical training has been cared for by a staff of trained instructors, reduced unfortunately in view of recent economy measures. The European staff is well qualified and the local staff have had some training in evening classes, or more systematic training in the education department of Raffles College. The work of this department was till recently part of an undergraduate course. This was found to be not so effective as a full post-graduate course which has recently been instituted.

General education beyond the secondary stage is given in Raffles College, established in 1928 from contributions to mark the centenary of Raffles' occupation of Singapore. It is aided by a government grant, and controlled by a council on which the Government is represented. The principal of the College of Medicine was for some time in administrative charge, but a full-time principal has now been appointed. A well qualified staff of European professors and lecturers provide courses in English, history, economics, geography, mathematics, chemistry, physics, and education. The standard of the three years' diploma course is approximately that of the London University B.A. general course, and some of the students take the

London University examination. Ultimately, perhaps, a local university will be established with the present arts and medical colleges as constituent elements. A description of the Medical College is outside the sphere of this book. It is an important institution with laboratory accommodation for 250 students and an expert staff which prepares students for a diploma recognised by the British Medical Council as a registrable qualification, entitling its holder to practise in any part of the Empire. Whether a university can be developed in the near future, and if so by what stages, is soon to be considered by an expert committee. The college has 112 students, some of whom are taking the fourth year post-graduate course in education with the help of Government subsidies. Local over-production of graduates is not, therefore, an imminent danger. But many students proceed to outside universities, including Hong Kong. Two scholarships are awarded annually, on an examination conducted by the Cambridge Examination Syndicate, to enable students to take an English University course. Higher education on western lines has not produced in Malaya the unrest that is attributed to it in India. The Malays are not politically minded; the Chinese and Indian sections of the population, preoccupied with commercial and industrial occupations and pushing their way in the medley of races, are more interested in outside than in local politics. The varied racial elements of the Malayan population make the possibilities of self-government remote to rulers and ruled alike. An effort is made to

train and select Malays for responsible positions. No doubt, for financial and other reasons, the training of local candidates for work now assigned mainly to the English educational staff will be considered in due course.

On the vocational side there has been laudable activity in recent years. There are now six trade schools closely allied to local industries, four providing courses for engineering fitters, blacksmiths, and motor mechanics, and two in carpentry and building, with special reference to village needs. The courses given in English usually cover three years and are well attended, with an increase in some of fee-paying pupils. Completion of a stage in the English school course is usually a condition of admission, and a sound general education basis has been found essential. The schools are well reported on by experts and leaders in the trades supplied, and have a most promising future. Though they are called trade schools they aim at instruction for a group of trades rather than at intense specialisation.

A technical school in the Federated Malay States, open also to Straits Settlement pupils, trains candidates for the public works, electrical, railway, post office, telegraphs, and survey departments. Pupils are prepared in evening classes by part-time teachers for the London City and Guilds examination in plumbing, and instruction is also given in such subjects as surveying, sanitary service, nautical subjects, electric engineering, and commercial subjects. The possibility of training

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local candidates for naval dockyard work has been under consideration.

An agricultural school in the Federated Malay States, open to the Straits Settlements, has provided since 1931 a three-year course in English for holders of the School Certificate, intended to provide a scientific basis for Malayan agriculture, and a one-year course in Malay for those who have completed the Malay school course or a stage of the English school course. The numbers have risen to 51 and the 28 ex-students have found appropriate employment. The staff of two European and three Malay officers is controlled by the agricultural department, but a representative of the education department is on the school committee.

Among other encouraging features of educational work in Malaya, for a description of which there is no space, may briefly be mentioned the arrangements for medical inspection of schools and pupils and the attention recently paid to music. Experimental educational work with the cinema is also being attempted.

Religious instruction is part of the school curriculum only in the mission schools. In government schools Koran teaching is provided out of school hours, in the school building or neighbouring mosque, for Malay pupils. The teacher is not usually one of the school staff. It is interesting to note that Christian religious knowledge is a very popular subject with non-Christian candidates for the Cambridge School Certificate, though no teaching of it is provided in their schools.

It would be wrong to attribute this entirely to their interest in the subject.

There are few dependencies in which the scout and girl guide movement is more popular and effective. Malaya was represented in the Australia Jamboree in 1934 by 51 Scouts, and the rally in the same year in honour of the Chief Scout won high commendation from him.

School medical and health work is also further advanced than in many dependencies. In most of the larger towns there are full-time medical officers, women as well as men, for this work, which includes systematical periodic examination of pupils and care for after-treatment. Some of the outlying schools where pupils cannot get dental treatment in a local hospital are visited by dentists. Pupils in Malay vernacular rural schools get treatment from government travelling dispensaries. There are special sessions for school children at some of the eye clinics. Propaganda work is carried on by lectures, exhibitions, posters, and cinema films, and there is a growing desire on the part of teachers and pupils to seek information on health matters. Hygiene is taught in all grades and classes of schools, much attention being paid in the lower grades of some schools to personal cleanliness and care of teeth. In many Malay schools cleanliness of pupils is ensured by primitive but effective measures.

Singing and other forms of music are systematically encouraged in the urban centres. An expert in musical training has recently been appointed. In the senior

classes lessons are given in musical appreciation, and some interesting experimental work has been done in the use of class singing as an aid to English teaching and pronunciation.

Use is being made of the cinema for general education as well as for health instruction. Several schools are fitted with projectors for silent films, but sound pictures in the local cinemas are making silent films less and less attractive to schoolchildren, and there are financial difficulties in the way of widespread provision for educational sound films. Meanwhile, arrangements are being made with managers of local cinemas for the showing of educational films to schoolchildren at convenient hours and at reduced rates.

Finally a reference should be made to an interesting attempt that is being made by the agricultural department to give Malay school teachers theoretical knowledge and practical experience of co-operative society work, a movement that clearly has great possibilities.

### III FIJI

THE colony of Fiji consists of about 250 islands, of which eighty are inhabited. The total land area hardly exceeds that of Wales. The climate is moist but not on the whole unhealthy. Rainfall is heavy and the range of temperature is small. The conditions generally are those to be expected in small islands in the equatorial region.

The population, 198,379, consists mainly of Fijians, 49.22 per cent; and Indians, 42.85 per cent. Europeans<sup>1</sup> form 2.03 per cent. There has been an increase of over twenty per cent in the last decade. There are 28.1 persons to the square mile. Suva, the capital (15,516), is the only centre of population with more than 2,000 inhabitants. It is estimated that the islands could sustain a population of two millions.

Economically, the islands have depended on agriculture, the crops in order of importance being sugar, copra, bananas, and (for local consumption) rice. There are subsidiary fruit crops, dairy work and a small growth of cotton. It is too early to estimate the economic and educational significance of the recently established gold-mining industry.

The islands were visited by white traders from the close of the eighteenth century. Christian missions

<sup>1</sup> The European community, excluded from this account, contains an important half-caste element for whose educational advancement an interesting scheme is now under consideration.

began work in 1835. By the middle of the century the most important chief had become a Christian, and cannibalism, with other barbarous practices, was given up. The whole Fijian population is now Christian. In 1862 the chiefs offered the islands to the British Government and in 1874 they were formed into a Crown Colony.

The system of land tenure has an important bearing on educational problems. Since 1912 the sale of Fijian lands to any agency other than the Government has been prohibited. Indians can obtain from the Government, from Fijian holders, subject to Government regulations, and from the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, small leaseholdings. Fijian ownership of land is communal, and is safeguarded and regulated by the Native Lands Commission. Every Fijian has a right to a portion of the land belonging to his village community. He works for wages, if at all, only to gain money for some specific object and for a limited period.

Training of the native population for rural industries has been a cardinal factor of the local education policy since the Education Commission Report of 1926. But the agriculturally trained Indian is at present more inclined than the Fijian to use his acquired skill for his own advancement and that of his family. He has a chance of working his own holding under the stimulus of personal profit. The Fijian commune claims the fruits of labour by the individual villagers. When what is required for the bare maintenance of the community has been secured an incentive for further

labour and for the acquisition of new skill is too often lacking. As the Education Commission of 1926 noted, "Many customs and habits among the Fijians are inimical to the development of a trained native population of farmers, each working his own holding. We realise, however, that these customs and habits are inherent in the present generation, and can only be changed by the gradual process of education, by steadily encouraging and assisting the people to make better use of their lands for their own profit, and by a gradual relaxation of the ties that bind the individual to the village community, especially where by training and by character the individual is fitted to make the best use of his opportunities." In Fijian life, in fact, as in African tribal life, our task is to develop individual enterprise, and to develop in the individual a critical and progressive spirit, without exposing the social structure to the risk of disintegration. Fijian society can be effectively and perhaps radically reformed only when its individual members have been trained by methods which take the fundamental principles of that society into account. Nothing is to be gained by relaxing communal control over individuals who have not learned to appreciate what is sound in communal life. Some advance has undoubtedly been made on the cautious lines suggested by the commission. Though chiefs and their councils, together with the village commune, continue to play an essential part in Fijian economic life, some of the younger generation of Fijians are now experimentally engaged, with mission

encouragement, on small holdings worked on a commercial basis. There are signs of a growing appreciation of the possibilities of commercial farming, as shown by the Indian immigrants.

It is not only in its policy of land tenure that the Government has shown its respect for Fijian modes of life. On the administrative side the policy of "indirect rule" obtains, though not in so emphatic a form as in Uganda or Tanganyika. District councils, composed of tribal chiefs and village headmen, are responsible for public works, sanitation and other domestic affairs. They have statutory power of tendering advice in other matters; they elect representatives to the provincial councils, which control the district councils in their domestic administration within the province, and to the great Council of Chiefs which advises the Governor on native affairs. From members of this council Fijian representatives are selected for the Legislative Council of the colony. Chiefs are not, as in some African dependencies, invested *ex officio* with judicial powers, but Fijian magistrates play an important part in the judicial system. Provincial or district councils are controlled by the provincial or district commissioners who preside over them.

Life in the six provincial Fijian schools, which are residential, is regulated with reference to this local form of administration and the part played in it by chiefs and headmen. The provincial councils which contribute to their support play an important part in determining their discipline and mode of life. There

is a growing tendency to raise local contributions for additional primary schools and to consult local opinion in their management. The Board of Education has advised the Government to constitute local education committees which will stimulate educational enterprise in the provincial councils, and assist them in such undertakings. The time has not yet come, in the opinion of the Government, for the systematic formation of such committees on a statutory basis. But meanwhile, local committees, organised and inspired by the administrative officers of Government, are doing much of a voluntary and informal nature for the management and support of village schools. Provincial councils can and do contribute funds to supplement the grants from the education department.

The Fijians are partly Melanesian and partly Polynesian, the former element, which is as a rule less advanced than the Polynesian, predominating. Thanks largely to Christian influence, progress in customs and manners has been as rapid as in purely Polynesian areas, such as Samoa. Intense pride of race is combined with great courtesy and fidelity. Hospitality and conviviality are much in evidence. There is no lack of innate skill. Fine seamanship and craftsmanship are found everywhere. Application and industry, such as characterise the Indian population, are only slowly emerging as education supplies incentives hitherto unknown in communal life.

Fijians are recovering from the first shock of contact with the white races and are beginning to increase in

numbers. The decline was arrested in 1905. Since then the Fijian population has risen from 87,000 to 97,000. Though the birth-rate is still much lower and the death-rate higher than in the Indian community, both are steadily improving. The death-rate has now fallen from 45 to 29 per thousand. This is largely due to the systematic hygiene and sanitation campaigns organised by the medical department with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation. The central feature of this campaign is the training in the Government Medical School at Suva of native practitioners for dispensary and hospital work and sanitation, and also for the organising under district committees of community welfare centres and of maternity and child welfare work.<sup>1</sup> There is medical school inspection, and school-teachers are trained in hygiene. Undoubtedly, much has still to be done on the practical side in the less

<sup>1</sup> A similar change for the better has been noted in a recent Rockefeller Foundation report on the Gilbert and Ellice, Tonga and other Pacific islands. As in Fiji, it is attributed largely to the work of the Suva Medical School, which trains practitioners for these areas as well as for Fiji. The work of this remarkable and efficient institution is fully described in its annual reports, which deserve close study. It is, so far as the writer knows, the only institution in the Colonial Empire in which native students, whose preliminary course of general education has not in many cases exceeded an eight years' primary school course, are prepared adequately for medical and public health work among their own community. The native medical practitioners who go out from this school have won high praise. During their four years' course of professional training, every morning of the last two years being devoted to clinical work in the hospital, they display keen interest and professional zeal. Except for the principal, a qualified medical man with sound educational experience, the staff consists of honorary workers, members of the hospital staff, other officers of the medical department, and private practitioners, who give part-time service to the school. The school is equipped with excellent and up-to-date laboratories and owes much, in this and other respects, to the Rockefeller Foundation (see also p. 231).

advanced primary schools. Co-operation between the medical and education departments has to be further developed. The village school is not yet a central feature of village welfare work.

The Indian population, 85,000, consists of Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians, from various parts of India, and of diverse tongues, Hindi predominating. They have been in Fiji since 1879, when the system of indentured labour was introduced. After the abolition of that system in 1911 the population has steadily increased, owing to a decline in death-rate and particularly in infant mortality, and owing to the fact that the number of Indians who have entered the colony under the voluntary system has exceeded the number repatriated at Government expense after the abolition of indentured labour. There are now more Indian than Fijian children of school-going age. Climatic and economic conditions are evidently favourable to them. They co-operate with the Government in its health, sanitation and child welfare measures. They can obtain holdings for rice and cane farming. The majority of the agricultural population cultivate sugar on land leased from the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, or from the Fijian communities, disposing of the produce to the Company at a fixed rate, and working under favourable conditions with suitable advice and help from the Company. There is no unemployment. In commerce, and non-rural industries, as in agricultural, their persistent industry and adaptability have given them a sound economic status. Most of their caste restrictions have

been shaken off since they left India, and individualism, with its dangerous as well as useful features, has far more play than in Fijian life. Though there is no antagonism between Indian and Fijian the two races lead separate lives. There is little, if any intermarriage, and apparently no uniting influence except that of the English language. Politically, they are more desirous of change than the Fijian, who finds in his local councils and communal life scope for civic ability, and is well content with communal representation on the Legislative Council. The educated Indian professes a desire for a common instead of a communal electoral roll. If education can give him a wider conception of public life and its opportunities and train him to make use of such opportunities, politics, in the restricted sense of that term, will no longer absorb his energy and interest.

In Fiji, as in tropical Africa, Christian missions were the pioneers of "western" education. The Government, established in 1874, took no share in the work till 1906, when it contributed to the cost of the first secondary school and assumed control of it. An education commission in 1909 recommended the assumption by Government of full control and the establishment of a grant-in-aid system. But action on the lines of its report was slow. In 1914 only one per cent of the public revenue was spent on education. In 1916 a system of grants in aid was established. During the next ten years residential schools for Fijians were established in every province, in co-operation with

provincial councils, and the needs of the Indian community, less amenable than the Fijian to mission influence, began to receive attention. A second education commission in 1926 produced a wise and elaborate statement of policy which has been consistently followed. A director of education was appointed, and an education department organised in accordance with its recommendations. The percentage of public revenues spent on education has grown from one to eight.

The commission of 1926 included, in addition to local officials and missionaries and representatives of the Fijian and Indian communities, educationists of high standing from New Zealand and Australia. Recruitment for the education department has been mainly, though not entirely, from or through the education department of New Zealand. The headquarters of most of the missions are in that country or Australia. Both Dominions are now entrusted with the administration of tropical and primitive races outside their borders, and their association with colonial education work in Fiji is clearly appropriate. It would, of course, be regrettable if Fiji, owing to its remoteness from England, and because of its association with countries where the education policy of the Colonial Office has no authority, were to follow a course inconsistent with that policy and uninfluenced by such advice as the Advisory Committee is able to tender. But there seems no fear of such a contingency at present. Senior officers of the education department have had

a chance of studying other education systems.<sup>1</sup> The reports of other education departments are at their disposal, and attention is drawn in *Overseas Education*<sup>2</sup> to development elsewhere that is worthy of notice. All memoranda of the Advisory Committee which relate to general policy are sent to Fiji. Occasionally, local questions are referred to the Advisory Committee and disposed of by that committee in the light of experience gained elsewhere.

Though the present aims and methods of work in Fiji are the fruit of the 1926 education commission, they are also substantially in accordance with the general principles of the Advisory Committee's memoranda on tropical Africa. The generous and wise provision of the grant-in-aid rules and the friendly co-operation of mission and government agencies are consistent with the Committee's recommendations, and with actual procedure in other dependencies. In recent years the Methodist Mission has disclaimed responsibility for Fijian village schools, in order to concentrate energy and funds on the training of teachers competent to raise the schools to the standard now required by the Government, and on post-primary work of a specialised nature. This is a good example of wise division of labour and well-planned co-operation.

The primary school work of this mission is now restricted, as the work of other missions has been and still is restricted, to the towns and to a few central

<sup>1</sup> With the assistance of grants from the Carnegie Corporation and Rockefeller Foundation.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 289.

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schools, mainly boarding, in rural areas.<sup>1</sup> The Government, faced with general responsibility for the provision of primary education, continues to rely mainly on the grant-in-aid system. Retaining sole control of the six provincial Fijian schools<sup>2</sup> it aids, in addition to the mission urban and central rural schools, schools started and maintained by Fijian village or district committees or provincial councils and schools maintained by other non-government agencies. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company maintains some Indian as well as European schools and helps to support others. The Arya Samaj and other Indian societies or committees also maintain schools. Some of these committees receive valuable advice and guidance from agents of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in the neighbourhood.

The education department is inadequately staffed, not in relation to the population or number of schools, but with reference to geographical conditions and communal distinctions. Its European element<sup>3</sup> for Indian and Fijian work consists of a director of education, one inspector of Indian schools, eight head masters, and two assistant masters. The foundations of a locally recruited inspecting agency are being laid in a system of native supervisors of schools selected from the school staffs. There is no departmental provision for

<sup>1</sup> This does not mean the withdrawal of Christian teaching from the other schools. In schools for the Fijians, who are a Christian community, Christian instruction can be, and as a rule is, given.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Including, of course, the New Zealand element. It is unfortunate that we lack a precise and comprehensive term.

the training of women teachers or inspection of girls' schools.

The 1926 commission, like the Phelps Stokes Commission in tropical Africa,<sup>1</sup> with whom they were generally in remarkable agreement, wished the school courses generally to be brought into far more intimate relation with the life and needs of the colony, with special reference to agricultural development and village industries. The Victoria School, Nasinu, the only secondary school for Fijians, maintained at considerable expense by the Government, now provides an excellent example of such courses, and has been commended in a recent report by an external impartial and competent observer. It has a very strong vocational bias, manual training and field and garden work being integral parts of the curriculum, and organically connected with English, elementary science, and geography, which provide the required basis of general education. No external or academic certificate examination requirements impede the fulfilment of the school's aim. The school is residential, and its whole life is animated by a keen but discerning respect for Fijian tradition, customs, ceremony, and art. This school provides candidates for government service as well as for training in the teacher-training institutions and in the Suva Medical College. The six provincial residential schools, which provide primary and post-primary work for Fijians up to the age of sixteen, have also a strong vocational bias; there is plenty of field and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 49.

garden work, though the general education standard attained with the age limit does not make specialised courses in agricultural theory possible. Woodwork is also taught. Here, as also generally in the primary schools, it has been suggested that carpentry receives too exclusive attention, to the neglect of other village crafts. For those who have completed the primary course there are appropriately graded stages of instruction in a well-equipped and planned technical school, providing courses in building construction, mechanics, vocational draughtsmanship, and commerce, and in a farm school, run so far as possible on practical and commercial lines, both institutions being maintained by a mission agency. In all these institutions the students grow their own crops and live a corporate and communal life. For the training of male teachers there are three institutions, two maintained by missions and one by Government. Fijian and Indian teachers are trained together, the medium of instruction being English, but go to schools for the respective communities for their practical work. The co-ordination of the work of these institutions and of the village schools with village welfare work and agricultural development will no doubt receive more attention as experience grows, and when the staffs of the agricultural and education departments have been strengthened. The development of local music, drama, and other modes of artistic expression has not yet been systematically attempted, though it was stressed by the 1926 commission.

Of the 520 students trained so far in the farm school, seventy-five per cent are now engaged in agricultural work. In some Fijian villages groups of ex-students have induced the commune to develop rice and banana cultivation, as a rule left to Indian cultivators. In other villages the growing of crops for sale, in addition to what is required for communal consumption, has been begun. Some ex-students have been settled on mission land for commercial farming. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has devised a scheme for a farm school, in which Fijian youths will be trained specifically for cane farming, with a view to their subsequent tenancy of holdings on which they will produce sugar for the Company, under the same favourable conditions and with the same guidance and encouragement as are granted to their Indian tenant-farmers. The scheme has been elaborated on practical and generous lines and ought to have a powerful influence on Fijian development. It should be added that the agricultural department also trains Fijians at their experimental station for adult instruction work and the supervision of school gardens.

Provision for post-primary work of a more literary and academic type is small at present, and extreme caution is shown in its extension. No such course is provided locally for Fijians, but scholarships have occasionally been given for secondary school and university work in New Zealand, where Fijian pupils are carefully and sympathetically treated. There is a small secondary school for Indians which prepares

candidates for the New Zealand matriculation examination. If the Fijian school courses continue to be adapted to local needs, and if their administration continues in accordance with Fijian custom and tradition, a strong Fijian demand for more provision of this kind seems unlikely. It is likely to grow in the Indian community, for which another secondary school with courses more appropriate to local needs is certainly needed. The provision of facilities for primary as well as post-primary education for the Indian community has been impeded hitherto by the difficulty of arranging for local financial contributions to their schools commensurate with the contributions of the Fijian communes. The Indian communal organisation does not permit the Fijian mode of contribution. There is statutory provision for the levy of a rate on the Indian community, but it has not so far been found expedient to use this provision. It is being found difficult to devise an equitable and effective mode of rating. Pending the institution of such a rating scheme, there seems to be no reason for letting the expenditure from colonial revenue per head of Indian population lag behind the expenditure per head on the Fijian population, and there is abundant scope for further expenditure on Indian schools.

Under none of the heads noted above is provision for girls and women at all commensurate with what is done for the male population. Recently, the Methodist Mission has established with strong government support a Fijian boarding-school with staff and courses

in touch with the realities of domestic life, and a teacher training class in connection with it. There are other central boarding-schools for Fijian girls maintained by this and other missions. There is no opposition to girls' education among the Fijians, and in the village schools co-education up to the age of puberty, which is in accordance with Fijian customs, facilitates provision of opportunities and has put girls' education up to the age of twelve on a level with boys' education. What is required now is more and better facilities for separate post-primary work, and for the training of women teachers for work in the co-education primary schools. For this purpose the staffs of several of the boarding-schools ought to be strengthened, and girls should be introduced to well-organised boarding-school life when they are young enough to enable the foundations of a disciplined life to be laid.

Effective education for Indian girls can hardly be said to have begun. A few efficient schools are maintained by Government, the missions and one or two of the more progressive Indian committees. But very few girls emerge into the higher classes, and fewer still complete the primary course. One mission training class is struggling under depressing conditions to attract and prepare Indian girls for teaching work. The obstacles to the education of Indian girls, their mode of life, and more particularly early marriage, with consequent dearth of teacher candidates and a short school life, seem likely to persist, and the Government's responsibility for a community that does not

respond very readily to openings that are provided is heavy. There are no such obstacles among the Fijians, and progress under a more vigorous policy would be rapid. Already the health campaign of the medical department has achieved notable results among the Fijian women, some of whom are being trained as nurses in the government hospital.

The language policy in Fiji is similar to that recommended by the Advisory Committee elsewhere. Prior to government intervention the missions had worked mainly through the Fijian language, which is a suitable medium of instruction and literature. The Indians have retained their own languages. The commission of 1926 recommended that primary schools should teach the vernacular as a subject, in addition to English, wherever competent teachers are obtainable. The vernacular should be used as a medium until the pupils know enough English to permit the use of that language. Post-primary work should so far as possible be through the English medium. Special attention should be paid to English in the training institutions. The English courses generally should be simple and practical. In the Indian schools Hindi should be the main vernacular, but subsidiary instruction in other Indian languages should be allowed. The commission's recommendations are being followed with satisfactory results. It was a Fijian student who reported that the main function of the Secretary of State for the Colonies is to appoint and disappoint officers of Government, which showed at least a careful teaching of English prefixes.

It has been suggested recently that the stress laid on English in the teacher-training institutions is impeding progress in other subjects, and particularly in methods of teaching. Possibly freer use should be made of the vernacular in explanation of difficult points. But the importance of English as a uniting factor in a population composed of three distinct races cannot be overrated. The students' command of English in the Suva Medical School, and the ease with which they follow instruction on complicated subjects through that medium, after having completed only an eight years' course of primary education, shows what can be accomplished when all the students are vitally interested in their subject and when all the staff are proficient in English.

The multiplicity of Indian languages creates a very real difficulty. Parents whose home language is a vernacular other than Hindi naturally deprecate the use of Hindi as a medium. Nor are they satisfied with mere permission for the other Indian languages to be taught as subjects. They ask that the Government should provide trained and competent teachers of these languages, and salary grants for their maintenance. Though the demand is reasonable, its satisfaction would complicate the curriculum and time-table, and greatly increase the cost per pupil to Government at a time when funds are needed for the more urgent educational needs of the community. The Indian community, if left to follow its own course, will attach ever-increasing importance to English. If the use of

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English in place of Hindi is more freely allowed, the demand for official encouragement of the other vernaculars is likely to be abandoned, and the position of English as a valuable unifying factor will be improved.

A recent official report testifies to the development through the schools of the right kind of civic spirit and intelligent interest in public affairs. The standard of debate in the various local councils is said to be high. Points are made briefly and sensibly with due reference to facts and finance.

Accurate figures of literacy are not available, but a recent report says that most adult Fijians can now read and write their own language. A strong attack on illiteracy is certainly being made. The percentage of school enrolment to total population is as follows:

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Fijian	17·1	12·8
Indian	7·3	3·2

The reasons for the comparative backwardness of the Indian community have already been suggested. It would be a mistake to infer from these figures that industrial or commercial progress is slower among the Indian than among the Fijian population.

There is statutory provision for compulsion, but it has not so far been thought necessary to make use of it among the Fijians, who are by no means reluctant to use such facilities as are afforded, or expedient in the case of the Indian community, for whom, taken as a

whole, an effective supply of schools is not yet available. It is argued by some, however, that gradual introduction of compulsion in areas where adequate facilities are provided would ensure more effective use of those facilities and a longer and more remunerative school life. Though enrolment is usually satisfactory in the lower classes of existing schools, the figures in the higher primary classes reveal considerable wastage. Both the Fijian and Indian village communities are said to be thrifless, with no sense of the value or proper use of money, heavily in debt, and at the mercy not only of money-lenders but of dishonest traders. The Indian tenant-farmers do not appreciate the terms and conditions of loan offered by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. They spend absurdly extravagant sums on weddings. The Fijian devotes far too much time and money to reckless feasting, and regards the cow as intended for such feasts rather than for assistance in the healthy rearing of his children. If a minimum five years' course and regular attendance could be guaranteed for all, not only would relapse into illiteracy be avoided, but an effective campaign against the habits mentioned above could be conducted in the schools.

With reference to the local needs and conditions which have been described above, the following measures are receiving careful consideration:

- (1) The strengthening of the education department for administration and inspection.

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- (2) The improvement of teacher-training institutions and their closer relation to village community welfare work.
- (3) The closer co-ordination of public health department work with the work of the schools, on lines already recommended by an officer of the education department as a result of studies in the United States and the United Kingdom.
- (4) The ensuring of a minimum five years' primary course for all pupils, and improved facilities and more encouragement for the completion of the full eight years' course by the more able pupils.
- (5) A programme of primary school extension providing annual increase in the number of trained teachers and in provision for salary grants to such teachers.
- (6) For Fijian girls the strengthening and development of boarding-schools and training institutions.
- (7) For the Indian community: (a) the development of more girls' schools under effective European supervision which will inspire confidence in parents, facilitate completion of the full primary course by a larger number of girls and increase the number of qualified candidates for teacher training; (b) the assumption by Government of more direct responsibility for the provision of effective primary education for boys and girls by additional government schools in places

where local committees or missions cannot make effective provision; (c) the establishment by Government of an additional secondary school with courses more closely adapted to local industrial and commercial needs than those of the existing school.

- (8) Further development of a vocational bias in the higher stages of primary education and in secondary education, by the establishment in Suva of a manual training and domestic science centre open to pupils of all the Suva schools.

For some of these measures provision is already being made. For some years there has been a steady increase in provision for grants in aid. The atmosphere is favourable for further advance along the lines which have for some time consistently been followed. Such advance would put Fiji educationally among the most progressive dependencies. Already it is in some respects a model to others, for instance, in its medical school, the appropriate vocational bias that has been given to post-primary education for Fijians, and in the adaptation of the Fijian primary school system to indigenous life and mode of administration. A determined effort is being made to provide a sound basis of primary education on which to build up post-primary work. It may seem to some that the time has come for systematic provision of post-secondary education. And it is reasonable to hope that Fiji will become in due course the centre of post-secondary education for all British

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possessions in the Southern Pacific area. The medical school may be regarded as the beginning of such a centre. But for the immediate present the Government is no doubt wise in postponing further development till a more adequate system of secondary education has been devised. Meanwhile, provision can be and, it is hoped, will be made for promising students to pursue post-secondary studies overseas for any purpose that is likely to benefit the colony, whether official or otherwise.

## IV

### BRITISH WEST INDIES

No region of the British dependencies discourages generalisation so effectively. Prominent among its charms is that of infinite variety. Even physically and climatically there is immense divergence. Trinidad, St. Lucia, Dominica and Grenada are humid and essentially tropical, with dense vegetation, lofty mountains, deep ravines. Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts, in climate, contour, and colouring often remind one of the Isle of Wight. Jamaica combines lovely and characteristic tropical scenery with the comparative austerity of its hill stations. There are the coral reefs and lagoons of the Virgin Island and Bahamas and the surf-beaten wild and rocky coast of the windward side of St. Vincent.

Race and religion show the same divergence. Barbados has been essentially and continuously British from its first contact with civilisation and is Protestant to the core. Trinidad with its motto "*miserique jubet populos*" contains Spanish, French, South American, and East Indian elements with a strong Roman Catholic majority. St. Lucia is essentially French and Roman Catholic, bearing unmistakable signs of having passed eighteen times from French to British control or vice versa. Dominica is French and Roman Catholic. British Honduras has a Spanish, Central American, colouring. Politically, we can study the constitution of seventeenth-century England which Barbados still enjoys, and every

type of Crown Colony government. We find wholly elected legislative bodies in the Bahamas, Barbados, and Bermuda, and varying numbers of official and nominated members in the other councils. The Leeward Islands have a federal government comprising four presidencies, three of which have executive and legislative councils; the Windward Islands under one governor have three separate executive and legislative councils.

Economically there is the same variety. In the sugar islands such as Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbados, we find large estates cultivated by wage-earners; in St. Lucia, Jamaica, Dominica small peasant holders and fruit growing. In Trinidad and Jamaica a combination of sugar, cocoa, bananas, rice, and other crops increases financial stability. Trinidad is emerging, thanks to its petroleum and pitch, from the purely agricultural phase, British Guiana has a strip of coastland devoted to sugar and rice with a great and only partially developed hinterland of forests and mineral resources. British Honduras depends largely on timber. St. Vincent adds sea island cotton and arrowroot to other West Indian products.

But there is one generalisation that can safely be made. Everywhere one finds a centrifugal tendency, a shrinking from combination with any other unit in the regional group. The surest way to get an educational scheme rejected in any island is to assert that it has succeeded in another island. There is a need for textbooks more closely adapted to West Indian conditions

than those most in use. But when such books are produced in one island there is grave doubt regarding their local suitability in an island separated by a night's sea journey from the island of production. There has often been talk of a West Indies university, but discussion of a centre for such an institution always has the same negative conclusion.

This insularity arises out of the region's variegated conditions and is perhaps geographically inevitable. It takes far longer to get from St. Kitts to Jamaica than from London to Constantinople, and from Trinidad to British Honduras than from Southampton to New York. West Indian insularity has its healthy and laudable features. But it increases the difficulty as well as the interest of its educational problems.

Moreover, the distribution of tiny centres of population over vast areas does not encourage progressive or economical administration. The sixteen island administration units cover only 12,300 square miles, of which Jamaica accounts for 4,307 square miles; Montserrat occupies 32 square miles. The population of the whole region is not quite two and a half millions, of which Jamaica and Trinidad alone account for nearly one and a half million. British Honduras, with an area larger than Wales, has a population one-fifth that of Cardiff. British Guiana, with the area of Great Britain, has a population less than that of Bristol. Trinidad, Barbados, the Windward and Leeward Islands, with a combined population less than that of Birmingham, rejoice in four governors and ten legislative and executive councils.

Despite this infinite variety and these separatist tendencies a few generalisations regarding the political and social background of educational work are possible. The white community is roughly two per cent of the total population and is composed of officials, estate owners or managers, with their subordinate staff, employees of business firms, ministers of the various denominations, lawyers and doctors in private practice, and private residents. Eighty per cent of the population is of pure or mixed African descent. In Trinidad and British Guiana, the East Indian community, recruited originally for labour on an indentured system which has been abolished, amounts to about one-third of the population. In Jamaica also there is a considerable East Indian community which has merged more completely with the rest of the population than has been the case in Trinidad and British Guiana.

There is a healthy absence of that racial fear and suspicion which impedes educational work among so many mixed populations. In support of this statement we may quote an account of the atmosphere in Jamaica given by an American observer, Professor Josiah Royce, who, we may suppose, adopted in his local inquiries an impartial and objective attitude. After emphasising historical and local obstacles to racial harmony, he states:<sup>1</sup>

“Despite all these disadvantages, to-day, whatever the problems of Jamacia, whatever its defects, our

<sup>1</sup> The quotation from Professor Royce is taken from *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, Lord Olivier. The Hogarth Press. 1929.

own present southern race-problem in the forms which we know best simply does not exist. There is no public controversy about social race equality or superiority. Neither a white man nor a white woman feels insecure in moving about freely amongst the black population anywhere on the island.

"The negro is, on the whole, neither painfully obtrusive in his public manners, nor in need of being sharply kept in his place. Within the circles of the black population itself there is meanwhile a decidedly rich social differentiation. There are negroes in government service, negroes in the professions, negroes who are fairly prosperous, peasant proprietors, and there are also the poor peasants; there are the thrifless, the poor in the towns, yes, as in any tropical country, the beggars. In Kingston and in some other towns there is a small class of negroes who are distinctly criminal. On the whole, however, the negro and coloured population, taken in the mass, are orderly, law-abiding, contented, still backward in their education, but apparently advancing. They are generally loyal to the Government. The best of them are aspiring, in their own way, and wholesomely self-conscious. Yet there is no doubt whatever that English white men are the essential controllers of the destiny of the country. But these English whites, few as they are, control the country at present with extraordinary little friction, and wholly without those painful emotions, those insistent complaints and anxieties, which are at present so prominent in the

minds of many of our own southern brethren. Life in Jamaica is not ideal. The economical aspect of the island is in many ways unsatisfactory. But the negro race-question, in our present American sense of that term, seems to be substantially solved."

To this may be added similar testimony by Lord Olivier, at one time Governor of Jamaica, and subsequently Secretary of State for India, as a result of long and wide experience of work in the West Indies and Africa.<sup>1</sup>

The following extract relates to Jamaica, but the chapter from which it is taken makes it clear that Jamaica is, in the author's opinion (at least in regard to the legal status and the capacity of the black and coloured people), a typical West Indies colony in this respect.

"There is no 'colour bar' in Jamaica, no legal or customary discrimination preventing any Jamaican or African or mixed race from occupying any position for which he or she is qualified by intelligence and education in any vocation, including the public service. All places of public resort, public vehicles, and places of amusement are freely open to all without distinction of race or colour. Many coloured and some black men are magistrates of Petty Sessions, coloured men hold or have held office as Custos—that is to say, as chief magistrate of a parish—the parish in Jamaica being equivalent to a Rural

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 63, 64.

District in England. Coloured and black men are Chairmen of the Parochial Boards, which answer to our Rural District Councils, and discharge the same functions in regard to poor relief, local roads, and public health. Black and coloured men are members, both elected and nominated, of the Island Legislative Council. Coloured men hold or have held Stipendiary Magistracies under the Government. Some occupy the Judicial Bench, and they are distributed in all departments of the Civil Service. These positions they fill with credit, although, naturally, the educational and social advantages which the sons of white families have in the past more fully enjoyed tend to give the latter preference on the ground of merit which the coloured and black classes are only slowly overtaking, as secondary, university, and professional education become more accessible to them. According to their professional standing, black and coloured associate with white citizens on precisely the same footing. . . . The black man, and in a less degree the coloured, are still handicapped by their past history, and in the selection of employees there is no doubt on this account still a preferential presumption of better qualifications in the classes that have had the greater advantages; but of simple race prejudice there is very little, and what there is is manifested on the whole more strongly in the relations between whites and negroes and the intermediate classes of mixed race than as between the white and the black."

Elsewhere, except in the Bahamas and Bermuda, where the conditions are somewhat different, the atmosphere politically and socially is similar to that of Jamaica. No racial segregation or discrimination is recognised or countenanced in any legislation or executive action of the Government. Schools and colleges, maintained, aided, or recognised by the Government, are open to all races alike. Representatives of all the races can rise to positions of responsibility in government service, and there is nothing to prevent those of African or mixed descent, who reach such positions, from controlling the actions of the white community. In the legislative councils, representatives of all the races sit together; the educationist may reasonably assume that there is no post or position to which those of African or Indian descent cannot hope to rise if they take advantage of the educational facilities which are offered.

In the social sphere, where official orders or policy carry no weight, racial discrimination is not entirely absent. But what looks at times like racial discrimination in social matters is often due to cultural or class distinctions which pertain in countries where there is no mixture of races. Discontent is found among the more highly educated members of the negro community in most, if not all, of the islands. But there are legitimate outlets for the expression of such discontent, and as a rule agitation is directed towards ends which, in the opinion of Government, are not immediately attainable but which are not by law or statute prohibited.

Mr. Edward Wood, now Lord Halifax, who visited the West Indies in 1921-2 to suggest measures for the development of self-government, which have subsequently been adopted, reported as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"Diverse as they are in almost every other respect, there is no difference in the matter of loyalty to the Throne and to the person of His Majesty the King.

"Several reasons combine to make it likely that the common demand for a measure of representative government will, in the long run, prove irresistible. The wave of democratic sentiment has been powerfully stimulated by the War. Education is rapidly spreading, and tending to produce a coloured and black intelligentsia, of which the members are quick to absorb elements of knowledge requisite for entry into learned professions, and return from travel abroad with minds emancipated and enlarged, ready to devote time and energy to propaganda among their own people. Local traditions of representative institutions reinforce these tendencies."

The report emphasises also the importance of retaining throughout the ultimate control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a factor which has played its part in the removal of racial fear and suspicion.

In fact, the political conditions are such that the negro population is not compelled to justify by economic

<sup>1</sup> White Paper, Cmd. 1679. H.M.S.O. 1922.

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development its claim to full citizenship. It needs vocational training for economic growth, but not as a form of education on which its political and professional future depends.

The political and social background being what it is, it is only natural that the demand of the non-European races is for the same kind of education as is enjoyed by the white race with whom they have been brought into contact, and with whom they enjoy the full privileges and opportunities of citizenship. Culturally, the negro races in the West Indies may have an important contribution to make to the world. On the artistic side, particularly in music, dancing, poetry, and the plastic arts there is good reason to hope that the West Indian temperament and its gift for self-expression, more particularly on the emotional side, will produce something quite distinctive. But the fundamental values underlying what may be called Anglo-Saxon civilisation dominate educational aims and ideals in the British West Indies. What has been said of negro education in the U.S.A., in the *Phelps Stokes Fund Report, 1931-32*, is undoubtedly true of the British West Indies.

"The general movement of negro education, as regards methods and objectives, is now decidedly in the direction of that prevailing in white education. This is necessary and inevitable."

On the more material side, scope for economic development of the negro is very limited, far more

limited than, for instance, in the United States. The negro in the West Indies lacks the economic stimulus which conditions generally in the United States supply. He does not belong to a minority community in a progressive, vigorous, and predominantly white world.

In Trinidad non-agricultural industry on a large scale is represented by the oil and petrol companies, and in British Guiana by certain mineral enterprises. But the opportunities for skilled employment that they offer to local residents are not numerous. In Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados, and British Guiana there are large shipping and commercial concerns which recruit locally a fairly large number of skilled clerks, etc. Otherwise all large-scale industry is agricultural. This falls under two main heads: (a) sugar, which is cultivated on large estates, mainly in the hands of companies and to a less extent privately owned. The wage-earning labour required for sugar is mostly unskilled, and some of it can be done by children. For the comparatively small number of skilled posts, for instance, in the crushing factories, and for controlling posts, supervision and the like, more use probably could be made of local candidates if they were suitably trained and educated. (b) Cash crops, such as cocoa, fruit (bananas, citrus, lime and grapefruit), rice, cotton. These crops are cultivated on small estates and also on small peasant holdings.

There are the usual urban industries—house-building and furnishing, petty trade, petty smithy and joinery

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work, and so on. But urban centres are few and small. Though the supply of skilled workers is often inadequate and there is reason to fear that sound and traditional craftsmanship is on the wane, there is not, in the smaller islands, a strong enough demand to justify trade schools devoted to these industries.

Last, but by no means least important, economically and with reference to education, is the wage-earning population, mainly rural, owning or occupying, in return for services rendered, small houses, which have to be kept in repair, and small plots on which enough food for domestic consumption can be raised, if proper skill is applied, if fences are kept in order, and if other simple manual jobs are promptly and efficiently carried out. It is essentially this section of the population, and the possibility of converting gradually as many as possible of them into owners of small-holdings, on which can be grown cash crops as well as what is needed for domestic use, that we have to consider in plans for mass education. At present they subsist, often precariously, on wage-earning in unskilled jobs, trusting often to their small plots for provision of food to eke out their earnings or to keep themselves going when there is no wage employment.

Wide-spread development of small peasant holdings seems likely to play an important part in the economic salvation of the islands crippled by the state of the world sugar market. Jamaica has already 16,000 peasant holders, and in several other islands small-holders are fairly numerous. In Trinidad, the cane

farmers cultivate, on small leaseholdings, sugar that is crushed and refined by the large companies. This small-holding policy involves difficult questions of land tenure and transport and marketing facilities. The cash crops to be grown on such holdings will be affected by world conditions. For domestic consumption there will always be a demand. Educationally, we may assume that small-holders will grow in numbers and will require suitable training.

Despite adverse world conditions and nature's calamities, such as hurricanes, a kindly soil and a productive climate make it possible for the vast bulk of the West Indian population to produce for themselves the means of bare subsistence without unduly hard labour. The kindness of nature presents, educationally and economically, obstacles to progress. In a tropical climate, the need for pushing ahead and acquiring new skill and power is not acutely felt if it is not also a condition of actual survival. Though the seas round the islands swarm with edible fish and though the islands provide fine seamen, the inhabitants are dependent for their fish diet on salted fish from Canada rather than on what they catch and salt themselves. No doubt it is cheaper at present to buy from an outside standardised industry than from local individuals or small firms. But in less kindly conditions a large and productive local industry might have been developed.

Against this background, what kind of figure is cut by our schools at present? A shrewd, impartial and

widely travelled observer came to the general conclusion that they were, taken as a whole, the least progressive in the British Empire. Of Jamaica, Trinidad, and to a lesser extent Barbados, this certainly could not be said. The report of the recent West Indies Education Commission confirmed the statement as regards the Windward and Leeward Islands. It is certainly applicable to British Honduras, and might have been applied to British Guiana prior to the improvements of the last few years. But the position generally is unsatisfactory, whether one takes into account provision for the training of teachers (only two colonies have satisfactory institutions and the output even in these is inadequate), or the quality of instruction, the condition and extent of school accommodation, and the general organisation of school life. Though, undoubtedly, quality has been subordinated to quantity, the actual extent of education is inadequate. Of the entire population between 6 and 12 years of age only about sixty-nine per cent are enrolled in schools. In one of the more progressive islands, Jamaica, only fifty-three per cent of the school-going population is enrolled, and in the same island the percentage of attendance to enrolment is only fifty-five. It is not creditable to a region most of which has been under British rule for more than one hundred years, and from which slavery disappeared a hundred years ago.

Among the obstacles to progress the human material cannot be included. No one who has come professionally into contact with West Indian pupils or

teachers, particularly those of African descent, has anything but praise for their keenness and potential ability. We can set aside also public opinion. Among the more ignorant parents there is here, as elsewhere, slackness and apathy where the advantages of education have not been proved to them and where they need their children for wage-earning or work at home. Among many employers of labour there is fear that children will be taken from not altogether distasteful or uninstructive work to acquire useless arts. And among a far smaller number there is a fear that education will raise the price or reduce the supply of labour. But these views are not confined to the West Indies; and generally there is among the enlightened classes, on the legislative councils, and in the Press, a strong and sane demand for education, with reasonable ideas as to its right content, and a remarkable absence of opposition to manual training as an integral feature of it.

Unfortunately, the foundations were weak. For several decades after emancipation inadequate measures were taken by the governments; the churches, which, from the start, were given the bulk of the work, were financially weak, divided, and jealous of one another.

The last forty years of the century were marked by considerable expansion, but at too rapid a rate for efficiency to be secured. The prevailing note was cheap and nasty. Methods discredited at home, including the pupil-teacher system, found a haven in the West Indies.

The home churches, with the honourable exception of the Methodist Mission, do not seem at any time to have attached the same importance to oversea work in this area as they have attached to work in the Far East, and more particularly Africa. There has not been the same impetus or sense of responsibility. This is, perhaps, natural as the West Indies population is professedly Christian, and, in recent years, for reasons one can respect, any tendency to regard the West Indies as a mission field, like tropical Africa or Eastern countries, would have aroused local resentment. At the same time it is to be regretted that poor and Christian communities overseas should receive less help from home than comparatively advanced non-Christian communities.

An even more important obstacle is the small and necessarily isolated administrative units, which per head are far more expensive than large units, while their revenue per head is less than that of most of the larger units. The percentage of revenue devoted to education compares favourably with figures elsewhere in the Colonial Empire, varying very greatly from about seven per cent to nearly fourteen per cent. Two of the areas which spend the largest proportion of their revenue are among the most backward educationally. The educational expenditure per head of population is about 4s. 6d. for the whole region, varying from 2s. 6d. to 6s. 10d. This is heavy expenditure compared with tropical Africa. But in tropical Africa only a very small portion of the field has been covered, and the

expenditure per pupil in Africa is very much higher. Expansion has been found necessary, and quality has been sacrificed to quantity. Though the schools have been organised to some extent on English lines, the expenditure per pupil is only about one-sixth of the expenditure per pupil in English schools, varying from 13s. od. to £2 15s. od. per head. Such expenditure in tropical Africa would have produced very inferior results to what has actually been accomplished there. Nor has there been, with the honourable exception of Jamaica and of one institution in Barbados, any private endowment of education on a liberal scale, despite the large fortunes that in the past, though not now, were made in the West Indies.

There is no lack of interest or of readiness to provide funds. Schools enrolment for the region has increased by thirty-four per cent, with corresponding improvement in regularity of attendance during the last ten years. During the same period illiteracy has been substantially reduced, if we may judge from the few islands in which it has been recorded. Expenditure from public funds has grown by sixty-seven per cent during the last decade. But only in the wealthier areas, such as Trinidad and Jamaica, has there been any marked improvement in quality, or any determined attempt to raise the standard of teaching.

In Trinidad, perhaps the most progressive unit, twenty-seven per cent of the teachers are untrained. For the region as a whole the percentage of trained teachers is only sixteen, and in the whole of St. Lucia there is only

one trained teacher. Except in Trinidad most of the teachers are drawn from the elementary schools without having had much opportunity of extending their horizon. The pupil-teacher system is regarded as an inevitable makeshift, and pupil-teachers amount to over forty per cent of the total staff. Faced by these facts and realising the impossibility of the smaller islands financing effective training institutions, for which indeed the number of new teachers annually required would be inadequate, the Secretary of State, on the advice of the West Indies Education Commission, has recognised the urgent need for a central training institute for teachers which will be for the smaller and more backward islands and more particularly the Windward and Leeward Islands an institution to which they can send and from which they can draw their teachers, and for the West Indies generally a common centre of advice and inspiration, research, and experiment, in the adaptation of school life to West Indian needs. The institute that is being planned should, in fact, occupy the same position educationally that the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture occupies in agriculture. It should have a highly specialised staff engaged in experiment and research as well as in actual training, and it should provide by its communal life a suitable atmosphere for studying the development of village communities. The Trinidad Training College has been selected for this purpose for geographical and financial reasons as also because of its comparative educational progress and because of

the existence there of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture. It is realised that Jamaica and probably British Guiana and Barbados will continue their existing local institutions, but it is hoped that they will find a central institute a useful source of information and advice.

Such a central institute, however, has to be supplemented by the appointment of officers who can form a link between the institute and all the areas that it serves. They must inform the institute of the local needs and conditions of the islands and the islands of the aims and achievements of the institute. More particularly, they must help the island authorities to apply the principles and use the advice and information supplied by the institute. Two such officers have been appointed to deal with the Windward and Leeward Islands, and it is hoped that the other islands may from time to time send to the Trinidad institute some of their inspecting officers and special instructors in order that they may get advice, information, and ideas from there, or possibly special courses of training. Teachers trained in this institute will be expected with the help of these officers to develop model schools which will influence other schools in the neighbourhood. Side by side with these model schools there must be, for each administrative area, a staff of specialised instructors trained in Trinidad in village industries and agriculture work, conducting courses and central classes for those teachers who have not been fortunate enough to be sent for training to the institute. A substantial grant

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has recently been offered by the Carnegie Corporation for the initiation of this scheme.

It is hoped that this scheme will produce somewhat the same kind of community school as is now being developed in tropical Africa. There is no tribal life in the West Indies, but wage-earning and small-holdings encourage an individualism, which, wisely directed, will provide for the West Indian village community a stimulant too often lacking in the African village. There is much that can profitably be banished from the present school courses in order to find time and energy for developing the communal side of education. Hitherto there has been failure to concentrate on essentials and the ordinary time-table is littered with fragments of isolated subjects labelled history, geography, and the like, that have no bearing on the lives of the pupils and that are not carried far enough to yield any value. If the reading books are intelligently devised with a view to local conditions, such history, geography, civics, and other general information as may be necessary can easily be imparted in connection with the English reading lesson.

Sporadic attempts have already been made to adapt schools to the realities of local life. In Grenada, Trinidad, Jamaica and British Guiana, manual training centres have been opened. In Jamaica and Trinidad, and some of the smaller islands, more particularly St. Lucia and Grenada, determined and fairly effective steps have been taken with the help of the agricultural department to make school gardens educationally

useful. But the work needs a clearer objective, co-ordination and more effective co-operation with the agricultural and health departments and other agencies concerned with community welfare.

Another need revealed by the Education Commission is for a type of school somewhat like the central school as developed in this country under the Hadow scheme, with some features of the junior technical school, a school in fact, to which primary school pupils can proceed at the age of 12, for a three- or four-year course of post-primary instruction adapted to the life which they may have to enter at 15 or 16, complete in itself, and not merely the initial stage of a complete secondary course. Diverted to such schools from the existing secondary schools of purely academic type, pupils who lack either the capacity or the means for higher professional or academic studies can so be educated as to serve usefully as teachers in the primary schools, or for other kinds of community work, as cultivators of small-holdings or for industrial or commercial work, of a skilled but not too highly specialised a type. Such schools would develop a more distinctly vocational bias than would be possible in the ordinary primary school, though advanced agricultural work, specialised trade-teaching and professional training would not be attempted.

Though at present such schools would be restricted to a three- or four-year course, equivalent to the junior departments of the existing secondary schools, in time they would develop full courses with a vocational bias

equal in length and equivalent in value to the full academic secondary school course now provided. Even while their courses are restricted to three or four years it is important that there should be no suggestion of their inferiority to the corresponding course in the ordinary secondary school. Culturally, and so far as government service, clerical work, or other posts are concerned, pupils who have taken this more modern course should be regarded as equivalent to those who have taken the more academic course. There seems to be no reason why the examining board in England, which controls the existing secondary school course, should not take over the examination and certification of candidates who have completed the modern type of course. The certificates of completion would have the same status and prestige as the existing secondary school certificates. If this equivalence is secured, public opinion will perhaps no longer favour exclusively the academic type of secondary education.

There are no traces of this type of school at present except in Jamaica and Trinidad, where a recent start has been made. Post-primary education as provided has practically no bearing on the life and occupations that await the large majority of pupils who attempt the course. And the majority of such pupils leave before the course is completed, with fragments of knowledge that are of no use to them and no developed aptitude for the careers open to them.

Existing provision for a more distinctly vocational and technical training than what can be given in the

proposed vocationally biased post-primary schools is limited to the Technical School in Kingston, Jamaica, which provides courses in connection with local industries as well as more general courses in engineering, mechanics, etc., and controls evening continuation classes for trade instruction and commerce; two vocational centres, one for urban industries and one mainly agricultural in Jamaica; an agricultural school in Jamaica controlled by the agricultural department which trains subordinate officers for the department and skilled workers for estates; a fairly effective system of evening classes and apprenticeship in Trinidad; the diploma courses of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, for subordinate agricultural officers and estate supervisors anywhere in the West Indies (the various governments that contribute to the college are entitled to send students to this course); a recently established vocational training centre for women in British Guiana supported at present from a Carnegie Corporation grant, and a rather ineffective system of trade apprenticeship in Barbados. In addition, there are a few industrial reformatory schools, and some of the technical government departments train their own subordinates.

The need for co-ordinating this technical training with local industries, and for securing the confidence and advice of local employers of skilled labour, official or non-official, is now fully realised by the authorities concerned, though in some quarters much has to be done before this co-ordination is effective. No

substantial increase of such technical training seems probable. Even if financially the claims of mass education and more particularly of teacher training were not paramount, it is questionable whether the demand for skilled labour throughout the region generally is sufficiently steady and emphatic to justify costly measures for its supply. Technical and agricultural education is more expensive than general education. It seems wiser for the education department in this matter to wait upon the demands of large-scale industries and to co-operate, when required, with the technical departments of Government or the managing bodies of the industries, supplying such schools or teaching as they call for. In agriculture the present tendency is for the agriculture department to provide such specialised post-primary instruction as seems to be required either in farm schools as in Jamaica or by adult instruction through travelling lecturers, demonstration farms, and other devices.

We come now to the more academic type of post-primary education which ought to be confined to those who are proceeding to university courses or to professional courses of university standard, but which is actually the only type given at present.

Though many of the post-primary pupils are at present being unsuitably educated it cannot be said that an excessive number are proceeding beyond the primary stage. For the region as a whole less than 0·5 per cent of the population are taking a post-primary course, and the percentage is nowhere more than one.

Nowhere does the post-primary enrolment amount to more than four per cent of the primary school enrolment. The courses in practically all these post-primary schools are dominated by the requirements of the Cambridge School Certificate examination, which, for the kind of pupil these schools ought to contain, cannot be considered unsuitable. The Cambridge examination authorities accede readily to any requests for the adaptation of courses or regulations to local needs and conditions. Elementary science and manual training undoubtedly require more emphasis than they receive, and this could well be given in accordance with the Cambridge certificate courses and without reducing the general cultural value of the course. Often too many languages are attempted, and the strongest advocate of classical education cannot endorse a policy which in some schools imposes on young pupils the necessity of learning simultaneously French, Greek and Latin, when it is quite certain that not more than one of those languages will be continued after the school course is completed. Another defect which can be easily remedied in these schools is what may be called examination fever. Pupils who are going to take the final school certificate examination are impelled by a forcing process to take also the junior certificate examination as a kind of trial run, a procedure which is severely condemned in England by the Board of Education. The most marked defect, however, in all but a few schools, and those mainly in Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados and British Guiana, is the lack of

teachers with suitable university education. The reason for this will be clear when we come to consider the provision for university education. Very few of the small number of university graduate teachers have been professionally trained for post-primary work. There can be no doubt that a central training institute for post-primary teachers is sorely needed in the West Indies. But financially the needs of the primary school teachers must come first. Local jealousy would make the selection of a site for such a training institution very difficult. There can certainly be no question at present of more than one really efficient post-primary institute, though more perhaps might be done than is at present done in larger and more efficient schools for the local training of the young teachers attached to the staff.

Of the best schools, numbering perhaps a dozen, it may be said that, in spite of staff difficulties and financial restrictions, they reach a reasonable level of efficiency, with interesting local characteristics, and a vigorous school life. They have some influence on character and produce examination results which compare quite favourably with those of English schools of similar aims and status. Of the other schools, more particularly those in the smaller areas, it can only be said that impeded by isolation, small numbers, and inadequate resources, they are making a heroic struggle with an expenditure of energy which the results hardly seem to justify. They might well be converted into schools with a vocational bias, without local hardship,

if the scholarship system enable the more ambitious and promising pupils to study in the schools of more academic type which will survive in the larger islands.

We have now to consider university facilities. Taking into consideration the political and social background, professional needs, the scope for service on legislative and executive councils and public utility and welfare centres, which is secured by the policy which governs these areas, taking also into account the need for a healthy and well-informed public opinion, the West Indian argues reasonably that such facilities should be as generous as possible, the restriction being on financial grounds and with reference to the claims of mass education rather than with reference to the exact amount of employment available for those who have completed such courses. The only regional institution which offers complete university courses is Codrington College in Barbados, and these courses are limited to Greek, Latin, theology, history and English, for the examinations of Durham University to which the college is affiliated. The number of students is always small, and hitherto the college has supplied candidates mainly for the pastoral and teaching professions. The work of their graduates has been sound, and the college is much respected in the West Indies, but with such a limited curriculum it cannot even supply all the various kinds of teachers that the post-primary schools require; much less can it serve the needs of the technical departments and the social services. Jamaica once had a university college

which prepared for the London University examinations. This college, during the 12 years of its existence, which closed in 1902, produced 30 graduates. Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Barbados now provide higher school certificate courses as prescribed by the English examinations boards, which cover approximately two years of post-school-certificate work. Elsewhere such instruction is confined to individual pupils. It is of great assistance to those who are able to proceed to England, Canada or elsewhere for full university courses, and is not without value for those who seek comparatively responsible positions in government service or commerce. All the governments, except British Honduras, provide in addition one, two or three scholarships annually, which enable the holders to attend British universities. They are usually awarded on the results of the higher school certificate examination or on a special examination of similar status. The holders have, as a rule, been up to the level of scholarship holders in English universities and have entered on useful professional or official careers. Medicine and law have been the most popular subjects with these scholarship holders, particularly the former. Useful as medicine is as a basis of social service, the supply of fully qualified medical men seems by now to have been ensured, and the desirability of selecting, for scholarship holders, those studies of which the area awarding the scholarship stands, for the time being, most in need deserves consideration.

Though it is obviously desirable that some of the

best West Indian students should expand their horizon by outside studies, there seems to be room in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and British Guiana for university colleges preparing for the London University examinations. It would not be necessary or possible for each such college to provide instruction in all the academic courses. Their programmes would require careful co-ordination. One such university college should certainly have an education department in which post-primary teachers could study. Though there is an admitted need for a West Indies university, it is very doubtful whether a small and merely examining university could give more to the West Indies than London University gives at present, even if the site for the headquarters of such an examining body could ever be determined. The approach towards the university must be gradual through the development of university colleges.

On the administrative side, in Jamaica and Trinidad, the number and importance of the schools justifies, and the revenue permits, the employment of a staff sufficient in numbers and with sufficiently large salaries to ensure a reasonable amount of expert advice and guidance on all subjects, except women's education. But in the other areas the provision of a staff possessing all-round experience and necessary professional and educational qualifications would involve an expenditure out of all proportion to population, revenue, and actual expenditure on the schools controlled. Already the administrative charges are in some cases out of all

proportion to the total educational expenditure. There is little prospect of any federal system of educational administration, but the appointment of two educational officers to link up the central training institute with the smaller islands is an important advance in the direction of a more economical and effective administration system. Less time need be spent by the all too few inspectors on the examination of individual school pupils and classes if more examination and detailed supervision work were imposed on local school committees. The chief function of the education department should be to guide, stimulate and control.

How can funds be obtained for these measures of reform which are now under consideration, more particularly the development of post-primary vocationally biased schools and the provision of suitable teacher training? There is, unfortunately, little ground for expecting a general increase in revenue or a larger proportion of public revenue for education than is found at present. As a regrettable, but apparently inevitable economy measure, the Education Commission recommended, with the general approval of the Secretary of State the restriction of the school-going age for the general mass of the population to a period of 6 years between the ages of 6 and 12, conditional on the development of central schools for post-primary work of a suitable type, and on the reservation of a reasonable number of free places in these schools for the more able and intelligent pupils leaving the primary schools at the age of 12. The Commission's view was

that it was far better for a comparatively small number of such pupils to be taught in efficient central schools than for a larger number to continue to receive the usual ineffective education that is given in the two top classes, at present attended by pupils of 12 to 14. These classes are often very small and are taught by unqualified teachers who are also responsible for looking after the work of the lower classes. At the other end, children of 4 to 6 are taking far more accommodation and teaching-power than can be spared by the schools without serious detriment to the interests of the 6 to 12 pupils. Very few schools have teachers qualified and competent to deal with very small children. Though it is undoubtedly a great convenience to the parents to get small children out of the homes, and though school conditions are sometimes healthier than those in the homes, we must put first things first. The younger children have less to lose by being kept out of the schools than the older children have to lose by bad accommodation and poor teaching. The exclusion of pupils at both ends would set free considerable funds for reform measures. The present age limits vary from 4 to 16 in areas where unemployment is rife and older pupils are ready to remain from lack of wage-earning employment to the more reasonable limits of 5 to 14. About eleven per cent of the primary school pupils are under 6 years of age, and about seven per cent of the total pupils are reading in the two top classes. But many pupils of 12 to 16 are found in classes lower than the two top classes owing to ineffective teaching and

spasmodic attendance. Apart from the saving due to the exclusion of under 6 and over 12 pupils, considerable saving would be effected by the reduction of time required by pupils, effectively taught by a well distributed staff, for completing the school course. At present the classes are congested with pupils who have spent two or three years in the same stage.

If such restriction were enforced, parents would be more anxious for their children to attend regularly, and compulsion, for which there is almost everywhere statutory provision, could be enforced. At present school attendance is deplorably bad, ranging from fifty-four per cent to seventy-six per cent of the school enrolment. Such attendance figures necessarily mean retardation and stagnation. Moreover, in the absence of compulsion, a short school life, within which no permanent results can be produced, is all too common. In the region as a whole about forty per cent of the total number of primary school pupils are in the first year of instruction and only about seven per cent in the last two years. In areas where a primary school leaving examination is conducted, only about three per cent of the total number of pupils in the average daily attendance completes successfully this examination. An obstacle to any whole-hearted enforcement of compulsion has always been the consciousness first that the teaching in the schools is not such as to justify pupils being forced to undergo it, and secondly, that if it were successfully and universally applied, more accommodation and larger staff

would be needed than could possibly be offered. If it could be applied within restricted age limits, and if local co-operation of parents could be more effectively secured, it would most certainly have a most marked result.

The education of women does not present here the same problems or difficulties as among the primitive races of Africa or in the Far East with its social and religious obstacles to progress. There is no traditional antipathy, no fear regarding the possible results of emancipation. The position and independence of women are assured. The percentage of the female population under instruction is less, but only four per cent less, than the male percentage.

But if there is no opposition, either to women's advancement or to their education for work outside the home, there is no lively interest in the subject. Girls are taken away from school as soon as a need for their services at home is felt. Though considerable pains may be taken to secure for a very able girl a training that may win for her a lucrative post the same trouble will not be taken to see that she completes a course that will help her in her home. The results of this apathy are seen in the sphere of morals and hygiene. Questions of sex and sanitation can be handled wisely only when mothers have been wisely educated.

It is not only in the home but on the councils and elsewhere that public opinion must be roused. The absence outside Trinidad of any qualified women

inspectors is a grave defect. Only in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and to a less extent Barbados, is systematic provision made for housecraft teaching. The proposals of the Education Commission contemplate housecraft playing the same part in the central schools and training course as horticulture and manual training are to play in boys' education. In every area there should be, as already in Trinidad, Jamaica, British Guiana, a housecraft centre whose staff should gradually influence the primary school work. The provision for scholarships for post-primary and post-secondary courses is behind that of boys, and their secondary education is too often neglected. In one island the secondary school expenditure per pupil is £2 10s. od. for girls, as against £12 16s. od. for boys.

In several areas the post-secondary scholarship regulations, by unduly stressing the linguistic side, and particularly the classical languages, and also the mathematical side, impose on girls a strain which the educational value of the subjects hardly seems to justify. If girls' education generally could be given far more of a home bias, its value would soon win public recognition.

Professionally the prospects of women could be improved if in every area women were properly trained for the teaching of young children, and if salaries after such training were adjusted to the dignity and value of their work. Outside Trinidad and Jamaica the teaching of infants is entirely in the hands of the lowest paid and worst educated teachers, and the

results are deplorable. The Commission recommended for each area a woman trained in such work by the Central Training Institute, who, in her turn, would train a local staff.

Hygiene and sanitation are sadly neglected except in Jamaica, where the Rockefeller Fund is supporting financially the work of the medical and education departments, and in Trinidad where the training college and the medical department, by systematic medical inspection and follow-up work within a limited area, are working great changes. In these areas, school dental clinics are also to be found and something is being attempted for eyesight. But in these more advanced areas, as indeed generally, it is coming to be recognised that schools, while important factors in a general and systematical health campaign, can effect very little if there is no such campaign or if they are isolated from it.

Within the schools there is already a wholesome reaction against the learning by rote of a few hygienic rules, which soon come to be regarded as magic formulæ or charms. Efforts are being made to find, in elementary science and biology, a scientific foundation for such rules. Even when this is done the value of the work is often impaired by the grossly inadequate accommodation of the school and its primitive sanitation, deplorable not only for its effect on physique, but also because of the impression it conveys of the Government's contempt for the principles advocated in the schools. The primary school buildings of the West

Indies have been described as the worst in the Empire, and though Barbados and, more recently, Trinidad are honourable exceptions, and there are signs elsewhere of awakened conscience, one misses a definite policy and plan and notes a tendency to allow almost indefinite increase in enrolment without any regard for accommodation. It seems probable that more might be contributed locally in materials and labour, if not in cash, by the community served by the school if the value of this service were greater and more emphatically brought home to all members.

For formal games and physical training in the more specialised sense of that term little is done at present in the primary schools; the secondary schools are more fortunate. With so many other claims on educational funds, one is reluctant to stress either organised games or physical training. The West Indian child lives an out-of-door life with plenty of sun; boys and girls seem to get plenty of fun out of life and move and walk with a natural grace very different from that of the slum child of large cities. For country dances and drama and song they have a natural aptitude, and it is greatly to be wished that their aptitude could be wisely developed on far more local lines than are usually attempted at present. If this could be done, and training for leisure thus ensured, there would be general raising of the moral standard. But more is needed than a wise use of leisure to effect that difference of moral outlook which shrewd and impartial observers declare so emphatically to be needed in the West Indies. It is

always unwise and usually unfair to criticise the morality of another race, but the figures relating to illegitimate births suggest in what is admittedly only one portion of the moral sphere a laxity and lack of self-control which the educationist must take into account, though there are other reasons, less reprehensible, which are no doubt partly responsible. The evil is not at present yielding either to education or to improved economic conditions. As a consequence, family life on which racial progress depends is weakened, general irresponsibility and flabbiness of character are intensified. Bad housing, low standard of living, and unemployment of young women, and in some areas the movement of male labour unaccompanied by its women folk, are no doubt to blame. But the school has also its part to play and often fails. Not only is the school life often lacking in vigour and discipline and in the development of healthy interest and leisure-occupying pursuits. There are too few schools in which the right foundations for a healthy sex life are laid by a wise course of simple biology teaching. The sanctity of the human body can most easily be impressed on those who have intelligently studied its functions.

But science alone cannot save the race or the individual. The churches must confirm and carry further the work of science. Ever since the abolition of slavery, the churches' readiness to accept educational responsibility has been a cardinal feature of West Indian educational policy. The system of grants in aid from public funds together with a measure of public control

was imported from England and has followed for the most part English lines. In some areas, as for instance, Trinidad, Grenada, and St. Vincent, the English dual system is followed. Some schools are managed by the education department, while the remainder are managed by the churches, which are financially responsible for buildings and equipment, salaries and pensions being paid by the Government, which in virtue thereof has the right of inspection and making regulations. In a few areas, such as British Honduras, British Guiana, and St. Lucia, practically all the schools are church schools. In a few, such as Antigua, Dominica, and St. Kitts, government schools have taken the place of church schools for special local reasons. In Jamaica, for some years to come new schools will be established under public, not church management. But even in these areas there is a concordat with the Protestant churches and an emphatic position in the school curriculum is assured for religious teaching. In Barbados, where all the schools are controlled by parochial boards under the general control of the Board of Education, the ministers of the denominations for which the school chiefly caters play an important part in the school committee and in the appointment of teachers. Nowhere is there any divorce between religion and education, nor would any well-informed West Indian advocate such divorce. In the British West Indies, as a whole, religious denominations are responsible for about seventy per cent of the pupils.

But though public opinion strongly favours a religious

foundation for education, it realises also the difficulties of the denominational position, and if these difficulties are not faced there may be a steady move in the direction of government schools with an agreed syllabus of religious instruction, as in Antigua and Barbados. There is a feeling that public funds are being wasted in the multiplication of small schools, owing to the claim of each denomination to have its own school even in areas that can economically provide material for only one efficient school. Unless the Government asserts effectively its right, as trustee of public funds, to decide how those funds can most economically be spent, which involves the right to decide how schools should be distributed and under which denomination, if there is not room for all, and unless the denominations accept such decisions cheerfully and without bickering, public opinion is likely to demand the taking over by Government of all schools.

There is also a feeling that government schools are as a rule more suitably accommodated and equipped. Unless the denominations can raise more funds for this purpose, either from their wealthier members or by making the community served by a school realise its usefulness and the need for giving labour and materials for its housing and equipment, there will be a demand for making this a charge on public funds subject to a larger measure of public control.

The teachers' unions, which are gradually being consolidated, are demanding more recognition of professional rights and status in church schools. Already,

teachers in those schools enjoy the same pension or superannuation rights as government school-teachers. In other respects also there is a gradual movement towards the establishment of similar rights and other safeguards.

It is greatly to be hoped that advance on these lines will conciliate public opinion and the teachers. In the West Indies the more definite the religious teaching the better. In an agreed syllabus, as taught in undenominational schools, there is a tendency towards vagueness.

Public opinion is beginning to demand a more economical distribution of primary schools than is found in many islands. Denominational claims to maintain primary schools with government support require scrutiny with reference to the actual school needs of each locality. Where there is not an educational need for schools controlled by all the denominations that claim representation in a locality it may be necessary for Government, in the interests of economy, to decide between conflicting claims, if the denominations cannot agree among themselves. Action on these lines is already being taken by some of the governments.

The difficulties of denominational management have been accentuated in many areas by the establishment of Boards of Education consisting largely of denominational representatives and vested with executive powers. In some areas these boards do practically the work of a Director of Education. That officer, if there is one,

gives expert advice to the board, and carries out their orders. These boards may have arisen out of a misunderstanding regarding the Board of Education in England, since West Indian education has followed, though at a more than respectful distance, English precedent. But actually the English Board has never existed except as a name. The supreme control, financial and otherwise, lies with Parliament, to whom alone the President of the Board is responsible. Apart from this control, the President arrives at his own conclusions with the advice of his expert staff and advisory committees. A West Indian board cannot effectively undertake the executive work of a departmental head, more particularly when it represents conflicting denominational interests rather than public opinion or educational experience. The Education Commission recommended, in place of executive boards, consultative committees representing public opinion, employers of labour, and educational experience, whose advice will be at the disposal of the Government, in regard to policy, and of the Director of Education in regard to administration, and action has been taken accordingly in several areas. In Jamaica the position is complicated by the existence of several executive bodies responsible for various phases of education and more or less independent of the Director. In Barbados, the Board of Education is more or less an executive committee of the Legislative Assembly with the addition of a few members representing other interests. There is no Director of Education. The Board controls the

primary schools and gives grants to secondary schools, each of which has a separate constitution, set of rules, and governing body. There is no secure provision for co-ordination and disentanglement of confused issues.

Educational progress in the West Indies is impeded by obstacles which mere activity in the education departments cannot remove. Geographical conditions and local particularism necessitate small political units and thereby raise the cost and increase the difficulties of school administration. The establishment of a definite policy for primary and vocational education and the provision of funds for carrying out such a policy depend on the formulation and execution of plans for economic advancement. The most urgent need, for well-trained teachers, cannot be met adequately until more money is available. Meanwhile, it can be claimed that the governments, guided by surveys which have been made and by the advice of the Education Commissioners, know what education is wanted and are planning means for getting it. The idea of co-operation between all agencies, official and non-official, in the social and economic advancement of a poor population has taken root. Public opinion on education affairs is generally sound; there is a keen demand among the educated classes for educational extension and improvement, and a realisation of its advantages by representatives of commerce and industry. The population as a whole produces pupils and teachers capable of taking full advantage of educational funds that economic advancement may supply. What needs constant

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emphasis is the fact that education, though more easily provided when material prosperity is assured, is itself an important factor in the attainment of such prosperity. Expenditure on sound education, if combined with other schemes for the welfare of the community, is a safe and profitable investment.

## BOOKS OF REFERENCE

PREPARATION of a bibliography on Colonial Education is an important task which still awaits completion. All that can be given here is information about a few indispensable works of reference, including those referred to in this book, and about some other literature which has been particularly useful to me, and which, though not quoted in this book, has no doubt influenced its tone. The list is not intended to be comprehensive and is in no sense authoritative. Serious students of the subject are advised to refer to the library and book lists of the Colonial Department of the Institute of Education of the University of London, where facilities for inquiry into relevant literature can be given. The catalogues of the Colonial Office Library and of the Library of the Royal Empire Society will also be found most useful.

*Overseas Education*, a quarterly journal of educational experiment and research in tropical and sub-tropical areas, published by the Oxford University Press for the Secretary of State for the Colonies (4s. annually) contains not only information of educational achievement and plans in the dependencies, but also reviews of all books and reports dealing with colonial education, and quarterly accounts of the proceedings of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Relevant articles and book reviews will also be found from time to time in the *Journal of the Royal African Society* and in *Africa*, the organ of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

The only book known to me which covers almost exactly the same ground as the first two parts of this book is *Education and Colonial Development*, Basil A. Fletcher (Methuen, 1937), to me personally most useful. *Colonial Policy*, de Kat Angelino (Chicago University Press, 1932), is a useful and

comprehensive comparison by a Dutch writer of the colonial educational policy of various nations in the Far East. *The Year Book of Education* (Evans Brothers) has included annually since its inception in 1932 valuable articles on various regions of the Colonial Empire, dealing with aims, methods, and policy as well as with facts. *The Educational Year Book of Teachers College, Columbia University, U.S.A.*, also gives space to the British dependencies. Useful material will be found in the 1921, 1933 and 1937 volumes of this series. *The Empire Social Hygiene Year Book* (Allen & Unwin) includes an annual survey of educational work in relation to social hygiene and the welfare of women and children in each dependency.

Recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies on general policy will be found in *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1925), *Memorandum on Grants-in-Aid* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1933), *The Education of African Rural Communities* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1935). Periodical lists of other documents of this Committee, not published but available for students, with information regarding the mode of obtaining them, are published in *Oversea Education*.

*Education in Pacific Countries* (Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai, 1937) is an interpretation of the Honolulu International Conference, referred to in the first part of this book, and contains many useful references to the British point of view in contrast with that of other nations represented at the Conference. It appeared after this book was in the Press. The international conferences of the New Education Fellowship have also produced reports which contribute to a study of colonial education policy, notably *Education in a Changing Commonwealth* (New Education Fellowship Press, 1931), *New World in the Making* (New Education Fellowship Press, 1933), and *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society* (Juta & Co., Capetown, 1937). The

## BOOKS OF REFERENCE

*Report of the Imperial Education Conference, 1927* (H.M. Stationery Office) includes the Colonial Empire as well as the Dominions.

For detailed knowledge of work in each dependency the *Annual Education Reports* are indispensable. In most of them a statement of the local education system and of how that system evolved is given by way of preface. They are published locally, but are obtainable through the Crown Agents for the Colonies, Millbank, London. The *Annual Colonial Reports* (H.M. Stationery Office) give a much needed opportunity of studying education in each dependency in relation to its social, economic and financial position. Of the very many books, reports and articles on education and its allied subjects in the many dependencies, only documents referred to in this book are given. *Report of the West Indies Education Commission, 1931-32* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1932), *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1937), *Education in Africa* and *Education in East Africa*, being reports of the Phelps Stokes Fund Commissions, 1923 and 1924, published by that Fund in the U.S.A., *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, F. D. Lugard (Blackwood, 1929), *Modern Industry and the African*, M. Davis (Macmillan, 1934), *Education in Fiji*, C. W. Mann (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1935), *Report on Visit to Malaya, Ceylon and Java*, W. G. Ormsby-Gore (H.M. Stationery Office, 1928).